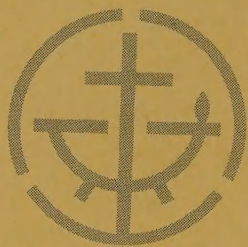


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Sketches

from the

History of the Church

by

G. E. HAGEMAN

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THE APOSTOLIC AGE.



THE BIRTHDAY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

On the evening of Pentecost following the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ the congregation of believers numbered three thousand souls. What faith united these three thousand in Jerusalem unto one congregation in the Lord? They believed and confessed nothing different from that which Peter, the spokesman of the twelve whom Christ called his apostles, had said: "We believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." (John 6 : 69; Matt. 16 : 16.) No doubt the majority of these believers had also personally known this Jesus of Nazareth. They had often seen him in the company of his disciples; had marveled at his miracles; had probably also followed him into the wilderness and heard from his lips words of eternal life. He had addressed them with such remarkable clearness and force as they had never heard from their scribes, elders, and Pharisees. And his words had been so fascinating that they had tarried with him for days. When he at one time had so wonderfully fed them, they had tried to seize him and make him king. John the Baptist had pointed him out as the one who should come after him, though preferred before him. — He was the promised Savior who now stood in the midst of Israel. And at the last passover they had seen this same Jesus of Nazareth hanging on a cross as a malefactor. He had bowed his head in death. His body was taken from the cross and laid in the new sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea before the great sabbath of the passover had begun. All this undoubtedly was still fresh in the minds of those who assembled on that Pentecost day. Everybody had been talking of these events at the last Easter festival; Jesus' name had been on every man's lips (Luke 24 : 18). They had indeed regarded him as a prophet, mighty in deeds and words; but otherwise they had looked upon him merely as the son of Joseph, the carpenter of Nazareth. And because he had declared himself more than that, had declared himself the Son of God the most high, their council had pronounced him guilty of blasphemy and of death, and had delivered him into the hands of the governor Pontius Pilate. And at the instigation of their elders they had not rested until they had sentenced him to death.

On this day of Pentecost, however, they were of different mind. Now

they believed on Jesus as the promised Messiah or Christ of God, as the true Son of God and Savior of the world. The Holy Spirit had wrought a change in their hearts.

It was nine in the morning when a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind filled all the house where the apostles had assembled and the Holy Spirit descended upon each of them in cloven tongues as of fire; and they



Pentecost.

being filled with the Holy Ghost began to speak of the wonderful works of God in languages and tongues which they had never learned and had not been able to use the day before. God-fearing Jews and proselytes from every nation under the heavens heard and saw in wonder and amazement these wonderful things. The question leaped from lip to lip throughout the multitude: What meaneth this? Some mockingly remarked that the twelve men, whom they recognized again as the disciples of Jesus, were intoxicated, that they were full of new wine.

In reply to this latter remark Peter, standing up with the eleven and prompted by the Holy Spirit, addressed the multitude in a powerful sermon, giving the

divine explanation for this wonderful event which had just taken place. He says to them: It is Jesus of Nazareth, the man of God whom ye have killed, whom God, his heavenly Father, raised up; who now is by the right hand of God exalted and has received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost; he it is who has shed forth this which ye now see and hear. In truth, he is risen from the dead, as the Scriptures of the Old Testament prophesied of him long ago. His flesh did not see corruption. Verily, God made that

same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ. And if ye desire to be saved, then repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call (Acts 2).

And by this word and many more which Peter spoke the Holy Spirit opened the hearts of three thousand of the audience. They gladly received the word and were baptized. That was the birthday of the Christian Church.

THE NEW LIFE IN THE CHRISTIAN CONGREGATION AT JERUSALEM.

The Holy Spirit had begotten these three thousand by means of the Word, through the teachings of the apostles, and by the washing of regeneration he had transplanted them unto a new spiritual life. And they "continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers. And fear came upon every soul: and many signs and wonders were done by the apostles. And all that believed were together, and had all things in common. And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need. And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all men. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved."

In this description of the life in the new Christian congregation, which the Acts of the Apostles first briefly outlines (ch. 2 : 42—47) and then pictures with more detail (ch. 3—5), we must make a closer study of several characteristics. In the first place, the fellowship of the Christians did not separate them from the other Jews. They worshiped in the temple like other Jews and observed the Jewish ordinances. They congregated in the temple as such who felt they had a right to do so. They undoubtedly observed the Jewish law regarding the sabbaths, holy days, and fastings. In "breaking bread from house to house" they in the beginning probably had to confine their devotional exercises, such as the celebration of the Lord's Supper, to private houses. But hardly in doing so did they create the impression among the inhabitants of Jerusalem that their faith and religion was something illegitimate and had to be concealed.

Then, too, it must not be forgotten that the having of goods in common or community of goods, which they established among themselves, was not a communism by right, but by love. These are two different ideas, however. Legal communism, which has been falsely attributed to the first Christian congregation to make it appear as though this was the original form of Christi-

anity, does not have all things in common, but makes all things common property. Legal communism compels every one to sell his goods and possessions, and then distributes to every member of this community an equal share and claim to the common wealth. That this was not the situation in Jerusalem, however, we see from the history of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5 : 1—11), up to which time surely no change had taken place in this form of Christian communism. On this occasion Peter emphasizes strongly that Ananias without sinning or losing his good name could have kept the land or the profit from its sale; there was no need, no one compelled him, to imitate the example of Joses (Acts 4 : 36), who had sold his land and laid the money at the apostles' feet. However, the fact that he claimed a part of the price to be the whole returns of the sale and thus wanted to appear in the eyes of the apostles and the other Christians as the foremost among those who contributed, — that was his grievous sin, that was the hypocritical falsehood and fraud which God punished so suddenly and severely, that a "great fear came upon all the church and upon as many as heard these things". Communism in the first Christian congregation in Jerusalem, therefore, left it to every one's choice to keep his property and houses; but brotherly love among them was so great that wherever anyone suffered need, no one's house or land was so dear to him that he was not willing to sacrifice it in order to aid those in distress. Positively no one should suffer want, no brother or sister in Christ.

This willingness to offer aid, this communism of love among the Christians could impossibly remain a secret to the Jews and no doubt added not a little to the "favor with all people" which the congregation enjoyed. Every one noticed their pious, loving eagerness. And if we add to that the fact that in the teaching of the apostles the word of Christ dwelt richly among them, we can more readily understand why the Lord added daily to the Church such as should believe.

The Acts of the Apostles relate in detail only one of the "many" signs and wonders which were done by the apostles in those days, viz., the healing of the lame man at the temple gate by Peter and John. — Miracles of healing had already been done by the twelve when the Lord while yet on earth occasionally sent them out to call the people to repentance and to proclaim that the kingdom of God was now come. But whenever the people at that time had seen these disciples perform a miracle they knew that Jesus was the power behind the act. Now, however, Jesus was gone; and yet they are able to perform miracles. But the miracle on the lame man not only shows us how the apostles in general confessed that Jesus Christ of Nazareth, who was exalted on the right hand of God, was powerfully and actively present in their acts. It was also notable for the fact that through their preaching alone, aside from the miracles, the number of men who believed was increased by five thousand, so that the congregation had by now increased two and

three times in number, Acts 4 : 4. Then, too, this was the first miracle which caused the elders of the Jews, the entire kindred of the high priest to take action against the apostles and gave the latter occasion to make a bold confession before the council of their people. This courageous confession, despite all the threats of the council, finally broke out in the words: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye! For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard". This bold stand proved to the council that the preaching of the risen Christ could not now be stopped. Under these circumstances this miracle not only increased the apostles' and the congregation's joy in their faith, but it also increased their reputation among the people. "For all men glorified God for that which was done. For the man was above forty years old on whom this miracle of healing was shewed"; it was common knowledge that he had been lame from birth. It might anger the priests, the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees ever so much that the apostles, these "unlearned and ignorant men", dared to preach the resurrection from the dead through Jesus; they could not find "how they might punish them, because of the people". For no doubt the people had not forgotten the appearance of many bodies of saints who came into the city long after their death (Matt. 27 : 53). And if the article of faith respecting resurrection from the dead, which the Jew who believed in the Bible adhered to (John 11 : 24), had become palpably evident to many at that time, why should they just regard Jesus' resurrection an impossibility, since the apostles positively assured them that they had seen the Risen One, and, what was still more, confirmed their testimony by undeniable miracles!

Indeed, the reputation of the apostles steadily grew with the number of miracles which they performed (Acts 5 : 12). "And of the rest durst no man join himself to them: but the people magnified them". The numbers increased who believed on the Lord, a multitude of men and women. Out of the cities surrounding Jerusalem sick folks in large numbers were brought unto the apostles, also such as were vexed with unclean spirits, "and they were healed, every one".

The second arrest of the apostles had the same result as the first: victory for the apostles and ignominious defeat for their persecutors (Acts 5 : 17-42). This arrest was caused by the Sadducees who planned to kill the leaders (v. 33). In this instance they not only seized Peter and John, but all the apostles. However, the angel of the Lord opened the prison doors during the night, and the next morning their enemies found them preaching boldly before the people in the temple, as the angel had commanded them. The council received the report that the apostles were preaching in the temple and the news that the prison, which had been securely locked and closely guarded, was empty at almost the same time. When the apostles were again summoned before the council Peter and the other apostles made a second con-

fession of their faith in Christ's resurrection, ignoring all threats. It was on this occasion that Gamaliel concluded his address to the council with the significant words: "And now I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God". The council acquiesced in silence and commanding them to be scourged released the apostles, fully convinced that their injunction not to preach the name of Jesus would not be obeyed. But the apostles "departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for Jesus' name. Now as before they taught daily not only from house to house, but publicly in the temple and preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

STEPHEN THE FIRST MARTYR.

No matter how great the zeal of the first congregation or how great its desire to aid all sufferers, mistakes were possible and were made in the distribution of charity. This does not surprise us considering the rapid growth of the congregation. "There arose a murmuring of the Grecians", i. e., among the Greek, not Hebrew-speaking Christian Jews. They complained that "their widows were neglected in the daily ministration" (Acts 6 : 1); among the Hebrew-speaking widows this condition never seems to have prevailed. In order to immediately forestall every suspicion and feeling of jealousy among the members of the congregation the apostles took measures to stop these omissions if possible. They called the multitude together and proposed the following plan: The apostles would devote themselves "continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word", but for charity work the assembly should appoint seven men of honest report. This proposal received general approval and thus the office of elders for charity work was branched off from the ministry of the word by the apostles. With prayer and laying on of hands this duty was conferred upon the seven men who had been elected. In this manner an under ordinary circumstances easily possible discord was averted from the outset, a wholesome arrangement was put into operation, and a further increase of disciples was made possible (Acts 6 : 7). — "Look ye out among you seven men", the apostles had said to the multitude of disciples. Not the twelve or Peter alone had appointed these men, who in their opinion would be best qualified for "this business". They had advised them, however, that they must be men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, as such only would be capable of doing this work properly. The congregation itself had to make the selection. The same course was taken when after the terrible end of Judas Iscariot another apostle had to perform his ministry and apostleship (Acts 1 : 21, 25). At that time, between Christ's ascension and Pentecost, the disciples numbered but one

hundred and twenty. Peter had told them that according to God's will as recorded in the Psalter another had to be elected to take Judas's place; not any pious man, but one "of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us. Beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us"; and that the principal duty of this apostle should then be, with the eleven to be a witness of Christ's resurrection. The number of candidates under these conditions was naturally very small; there were but two who came in question. The disciples then with prayer to God cast the lots. The lot fell upon Matthias and he was added to the eleven apostles as the twelfth.

Modern theologians condemn this election of Matthias as a hasty step on the part of the apostles. The eleven should have waited until the Lord himself had made the selection. Saul or Paul was the man whom the Lord had in view as the twelfth; and by his conversion and calling to the apostleship God wanted to correct the error of the eleven. But such an argument is without foundation. The eleven knew that they had to carry out a word of Scripture; and the divine approval of the step, if such was necessary, consisted in the fact that the Holy Spirit with his gifts and powers descended upon Matthias as well as upon the others on Pentecost.

Among the seven deacons STEPHEN is mentioned in the first place, as a man full of faith and the Holy Spirit, to whom God also granted the power to do miracles and wonders among the people. He also had the ability to conclusively and clearly refute the arguments of vain philosophers who attacked the Gospel of Christ. Through his influence and work the number of disciples in Jerusalem increased; and what was doubtless a great blow to the elders of the Jewish people: many priests became obedient to the faith. Stephen was finally arrested by the Jewish authorities and brought to trial before the council as a blasphemer against the temple and its worship. The seventh chapter of Acts reproduces the remarkable sermon which Stephen delivered in his defense and which aroused the council to such a pitch of fury that they summarily dragged him out of the city and stoned him, brushing aside in their heated passions the prescribed process of trial. In their rage they forgot the memorable words which they used at the trial of Jesus before Pilate: "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death". — Stephen gave his life in the cause of the Church with a prayer on his lips for his enemies and committed his soul into the hands of his Lord. Devout members of the congregation later buried his precious body and the whole congregation was filled with grief.

Saul, a young man then, witnessed this stoning and showed that he was in favor of the act by taking care of the clothes of those who, as witnesses against Stephen, according to the Jewish custom cast the first stones on him. "The witnesses laid down their clothes at Saul's feet", means that Saul guarded their outer garments while they cast the stones.

The stoning of Stephen was the signal for an extensive campaign against the believers in Christ in Jerusalem. In this persecution Saul showed himself especially active. He entered into the houses of the Christians and dragged both men and women into prison. As a result the congregation in Jerusalem was scattered throughout Judaea and Samaria, excepting the apostles who remained in Jerusalem.

THE CONVERSION OF THE SAMARITANS.

The believers of Jerusalem who were scattered because of this persecution now acted as so many missionaries, carrying the seed of the Gospel into all the cities of Judaea and Samaria. Everywhere large numbers were converted. Deacon Philip preached in the city of Samaria with great success. When the Lord sojourning in Samaria for two days saw the fields of Samaria "white to harvest" (John 4 : 35), the disciples then did not perhaps understand the meaning of those words, but now there could be no question in their minds as to their meaning. The miraculous healing of those possessed by unclean spirits and of the lame and of those taken with palsy, which here too confirmed the preaching of Christ, caused much rejoicing and Philip found large, attentive audiences. Naturally the news that Samaria, too, had received the word of God rapidly reached Jerusalem, and the apostles sent Peter and John to that place. Through their prayer for the baptized and by laying on of hands these Samaritans also received the wonderful gifts of the Holy Spirit. At the same time these two apostles disclosed the insincerity of one Simon Magus who offered the apostles money for this power giving the Holy Ghost by laying on of hands. Later reports have it that this same Simon practised his sorcery as much as before.

Peter and John on their return to Jerusalem preached the Gospel in many Samaritan villages, whereas formerly, before Jesus' return to his Father, they in obedience to the Lord's command had avoided Samaritan regions and the Gentiles in general.

After completing his work in Samaria the Lord sent Philip on a special mission on the highway from Jerusalem to Gaza, where he converted and baptized the eunuch of the Queen Candace of Ethiopia, whom he found reading in the prophet Isaiah. Having fulfilled this mission Philip was caught away by the spirit of the Lord and taken to Azotus, whence he continued on his journey to Caesarea, preaching in the various villages and cities (Acts 21 : 8).



The First Disciples of Jesus.

(By J. Jttenbach.)

THE CONVERSION OF PAUL.

Paul, whose Hebrew name was Saul, was born in Tarsus in the province of Cilicia. His parents were Jews of the tribe of Benjamin and were naturalized Roman citizens. At an early age they sent him to Jerusalem, where he studied to be a scribe in the famous school of Gamaliel, at the same time, as was customary among the Jews, learning the trade of tent-maker or carpet weaver. He joined the ranks of the Pharisees, becoming a zealous and ardent member of that sect, filled with zeal and enthusiasm for the Levitical cultus and law of his forefathers. He hated the disciples of Jesus as ungodly blasphemers of the temple and the law.

The pages of history, therefore, introduce him to us for the first time in connection with the martyrdom of Stephen. Shortly after this "execution" we find him actively participating in the campaign against the Christians. Because of this persecution the believers were scattered over the surrounding country. He secured a commission from the high priest which permitted him to seize any and all Christians, wherever he found them, men and women.

Hearing that there were disciples of Jesus also in Damascus he provided himself with a warrant to arrest them, and proceeded to that place with his companions. But this time a mightier came upon the strong. When he approached Damascus he was determined to do anything against Jesus' name. When he left the city he was equally determined to live and die in the service of Jesus and his Church. What had happened? God had broken his every evil counsel and will and in conversion had made a friend of Jesus out of an enemy. As he approached Damascus he was suddenly dazed by a dazzling light from heaven and heard the voice of Jesus: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks". In fear and trembling he queries: "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?", receiving as answer: "Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what to do". When he arises from the ground he finds that the brilliancy of the light had robbed him of his eyesight and he must be led into the city. His companions had seen a light, but no person, had heard a voice, but had understood nothing. In Damascus he remained for three days and nights, engaged in earnest prayer until a disciple by the name of Ananias was sent to him by Christ, who restored his sight and brought him into the congregation of believers after baptizing him.

Following his conversion Paul began to preach in the synagogues of Damascus and boldly proved that Jesus is the Son of God, the Christ. At first amazed, the Jews became incensed at his change of attitude and made attempts on his life, which compelled him to flee from the city. His new Christian companions assisted him by letting him down over the wall in a basket during the night.

Three years later we find him in Jerusalem (Gal. 1:18). Here he was

introduced to the full confidence of the brethren by Barnabas who brought him to some of the apostles. In Jerusalem he publicly preached the name of the Lord Jesus. But he was soon driven from the city by the hostility of the Jews. Some of the Christian brethren accompanied him to Caesarea and from here sent him to Tarsus.

PETER CHANGES HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GENTILES.

In the meantime the believers in Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee enjoyed a short period of undisturbed rest, increased in numbers, and "walked in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost". On a tour of visitation which Peter made throughout these regions he healed a lame man named Aeneas, sick of the palsy for eight years in Lydda situated between Jerusalem and Joppa. In Joppa he restored to life a disciple named Tabea or Tabitha, who had been a very charitable woman. The result of the first as well as the second miracle was that "many believed in the Lord".

Peter then tarried in Joppa by the sea in the house of Simon a tanner. At that time Cornelius was centurion of the so-called Italian cohort in Caesarea. He was by birth a heathen, but kept in close touch with the Jews among whom he had the reputation that he feared God and gave much alms to the people. One day while fasting and praying an angel of the Lord directed him to call Peter from Joppa who there lodged with Simon the tanner in a house by the sea; "he shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do". In the meantime Peter was being prepared for this important message in a vision while praying on the housetop, wherein he saw a large sheet descend from heaven, containing all kinds of unclean animals. At the same time a voice saying, "Rise, Peter, kill and eat!" — to which he replied: "Not so, Lord, for I have never eaten anything that is common or unclean". God, however, instructed him: "What God hath cleansed that call thou not common". The sheet descended a second and a third time and disappeared. While yet deliberating on the significance of this vision Peter heard the messengers of Cornelius inquiring for him. Obedient to instructions from the Lord he goes to Caesarea, where he finds the house filled with Cornelius' friends and relatives. He now comprehends the import of his vision and after cautiously reminding his audience that it is unlawful for a Jew to enter the house of a heathen, he complies with the wish of Cornelius and preaches to them. During his sermon on the resurrection of Christ the Holy Spirit descends upon all of his listeners, enabling them to speak with tongues wherewith they magnify God. Turning to the believing Jews who had come with him, Peter says, "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord.

The news of this baptism soon reached Jerusalem and a few over-zealous Christian Jews reproached Peter for his act. But when he made a report and gave them the true facts, "they held their peace and glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance and life".

THE CHURCH AT ANTIOCH. THE DEATH OF JAMES THE ELDER. PETER'S ESCAPE FROM PRISON.

After the persecution which began with the stoning of Stephen the Gospel message in the course of time was spread over Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch. At Antioch the seed was sown by a few Christian Jews who were able to speak Greek and imparted their Christian knowledge to some Gentiles. The seed grew rapidly, however, and in a short time many Gentiles had accepted the new religion. News of this reached Jerusalem and Barnabas, a man full of faith and spirit, was sent thither. Highly delighted with the spiritual successes in Antioch he immediately went to Tarsus to call Paul into this rich and important field of labor, and staid in Antioch with him for one whole year. Among other prophets who had come to this city from Jerusalem at this time was a certain Agabus, who predicted a great famine, which occurred later during the reign of Emperor Claudius. This prompted the congregation at Antioch to send a collection to the mother church in Jerusalem in case of emergency. Paul and Barnabas delivered it.

In Jerusalem, however, a new persecution against the Christians was under way. This time King Herod Agrippa I was the instigator in his endeavor to secure the good will of the Jews. The first victim of this persecution was James the Elder, the brother of John. Herod had him beheaded. Peter was also imprisoned during this persecution and Herod intended to have him executed next. But in the night before his execution he was released from prison by an angel of the Lord who led him out of the prison into the city, where Peter visited the house of Mary, filling the disciples, who had gathered there to pray for him, with wonder and amazement. After relating his wonderful deliverance he departed to an unknown place. The death of Herod Agrippa, however, which occurred soon after, again restored peace to the Church and later made it possible for Peter to return to Jerusalem.

The first of the twelve, therefore, to experience martyrdom was James the Elder, whose mother had asked of Jesus a special seat of honor for her sons. He attained that honor, but not before tasting of the bitter cup of martyrdom.

PAUL'S FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY WITH BARNABAS.

Paul and Barnabas were despatched by the congregation at Antioch in obedience to a divine injunction on a general missionary tour. Their work at Antioch had been highly successful. And from a Christian standpoint this city grew to be important. It was here that the believers were first called Christians, which distinguished them from Judaism. Before that the disciples of Jesus were regarded as a Jewish sect and their strict adherence to the ceremonial law in Jerusalem gave that impression. But the life of the Christian Gentiles in Antioch presented an entirely different aspect, wholly void of any marks of Judaism in speech or in custom. We soon find Antioch as much the centre of Gentile Christendom as Jerusalem had been so long that of Judaic Christendom.

The Holy Spirit himself had instructed the congregation at Antioch: "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them". This had been done with prayer and laying on of hands. Barnabas took his nephew John Mark with him as companion. They first went to the island of Cyprus, Barnabas' native land, and when they reached Paphos, at the other end of the island, the proconsul Sergius Paulus expressed a desire to hear this new doctrine. A Jewish sorcerer Barjesus, also called Elymas, in his attempt to dissuade the proconsul from listening to the apostles, was punished with blindness. But the proconsul was converted. From Cyprus they sailed to Asia Minor, where Barnabas' nephew left them in Perge and returned to Jerusalem.

At Antioch in Pisidia both Jews and Gentiles at first listened readily to the apostles, the heathen part of the city even expressing the wish to receive further information concerning Jesus. As a result nearly the whole city assembled on the following sabbath to hear the word of God. This enthusiasm for the new religion of Jesus aroused the jealousy of the Jews who now opposed the apostles and interrupted their address by blasphemous expressions. The apostles finally rebuked the Jews: if they refused to be saved, the missionaries would turn to the Gentiles. These words pleased the Gentiles immensely and disposed them to accept the Gospel, and "as many as were ordained to eternal life believed. And the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region". But the Jews stirred up such a riot that the apostles were forced to leave the city.

Barnabas and Paul from here went to Iconium in Lycaonia and here also preached in the synagogues of the Jews. The obvious purpose of the apostles was to offer the Jews the first chance to hear the Gospel wherever they went. Here, too, they performed many signs and wonders and many of the Jews and Greeks believed. Again the Jews insulted them and attempted to stone them, but the apostles traveled on to Lystra and Derbe. The healing of the lame man who had been lame from childhood gave the people of Lystra the im-

pression that the apostles must be the gods Jupiter and Mercury. Their priests fetched oxen and garlands to offer sacrifice unto them. Filled with consternation the apostles ran among them to restrain them, at the same time directing them to the living God who made heaven and earth. Here again Jews, who came from Antioch and Iconium, were active in stirring up the populace, stoning Paul and dragging him out of the city, supposing him to be dead. But when the disciples gathered about him, he arose and went into the city. On the following day Paul and Barnabas left for Derbe, where they again succeeded in gathering a number of disciples into a mission congregation.

Having completed their tour and going as far as they could go, they returned homeward bound, traveling through Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, encouraging the disciples and admonishing them to continue in their new faith despite the trials and tribulations which they might have to suffer. They ordained elders in every congregation and after passing through Pisidia and Pamphylia returned to their starting point, Antioch in Syria. The tour had probably lasted two years and with hearts filled with joy they could report to the brethren "all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles".

THE APOSTOLIC COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM.

Paul and Barnabas then labored in Antioch in peace for a number of years, when suddenly this peace was disturbed by several Pharisaic zealots from among the Christian Jews, who came from Jerusalem and put up the claim that circumcision and full observance of the Mosaic law were essential to salvation. This was an attack on the true freedom of all Christians and as such Barnabas and Paul strenuously opposed it. The outcome of it was that after "no small dissension" with these zealots the congregation at Antioch resolved that Paul and Barnabas and several others from among them "should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question". This was done. Titus, a Greek who had not been circumcised, was also one of Paul's companions on this occasion. On their way through Phoenicia and Samaria they caused much joy among all brethren by their reports of the conversion of heathens to Christianity.

In Jerusalem they were received friendly at first; but when these Pharisaic zealots here too insisted on their demands, they realized only too well that they were facing no mean difference of opinion.

Peter made the first decisive, vigorous address, wherein he emphasized that the question in dispute had already been answered long ago by God, when he sent down upon the pagan household of Cornelius his Holy Spirit and did not require circumcision of them, but merely baptism and faith in Jesus Christ. Following him Paul and Barnabas addressed the meeting,

"declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them". He had done this, however, demanding of the Gentiles nothing but repentance and faith in Christ.

Finally, James the Less, who probably was author of the letter bearing that name, a man who because of his strict observance of the law was held in high esteem by both Christians and Jews, also said the brethren should avoid imposing unnecessary burdens upon those who among the Gentiles were turned to God. If they observed the Noachian commandments and abstained from things which naturally filled the Jewish brethren with horror and thus made concessions to one another, the difference would disappear.

This suggestion of James met with general approval and it was so resolved. They, that is, the apostles, came to an agreement respecting the division of the missionary work in the future: James, Peter, and John gave the right hand to Paul and Barnabas and agreed that the latter should preach among the Gentiles, while they would preach principally to those of the circumcision. Finally, Paul and Barnabas promised to continue to remember the poor of the mother church in Jerusalem and Judaea. By thus assisting each other in bearing the burden and by preventing the possibility of one apostle intruding upon the field of another and obviating all offence, they felt satisfied that they not only were benefiting themselves, but that it was pleasing to the Holy Spirit as well.

Not only were the most important of these resolutions put to writing, but the brethren in Jerusalem also sent back traveling companions with those from Antioch as a delegation, who should deliver this letter and bear witness that these Christian zealots, who had caused a disturbance in the church, had no authority for their action. Judas and Silas fulfilled their mission to the satisfaction of everybody. Of the two Judas returned to Jerusalem, but Silas tarried in Antioch.

If at that time, at the Apostolic Council, the Apostles' Creed was formulated by the apostles, as the Roman Catholic church claims in her traditions, then we surely ought to find something to this effect at this place, either in the fifteenth chapter of Acts or in the second chapter of Galatians. Nevertheless, the absence of such a report does not in any way deprive this ancient confession of faith, which is accepted by all Christendom, of any of its inherent value, since the whole creed is nothing but an embodiment of the teachings of each apostle, — those doctrines which they taught the first Christians.

This Council is important to us in another respect. It is the Biblical pattern for all true, genuine synodical meetings, in which the clergy as well as the laymen pass judgment on matters pertaining to faith and doctrine, remove all false teachers from their midst, distribute the work of the Church according to the various gifts bestowed by God, and do charity work among those of the household of faith.



Ruins of the Acropolis at Athens.

PAUL'S SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

On their return home to Antioch in Syria Paul and Barnabas probably sojourned there for a year. At the end of this time Paul proposed a second missionary journey to Barnabas, principally to visit the newly established missions. Barnabas was willing; but when he expressed the wish to take John Mark along again, a heated argument arose between Barnabas and Paul, wherein Paul contended that one who had on their first missionary tour ingloriously deserted them should not be employed in this work again. Unable to come to an agreement on this point the two separated, Barnabas sailing to Cyprus with Mark and Paul, accompanied by Silas or Silvanus, setting out on his second missionary journey, joined later by Timothy and Luke, the author of Acts.

Comparing this and the following journey of Paul as recorded in Acts with remarks as we find them in Paul's letters, we are able to gather a little information respecting Paul's missionary work.

When arriving in a large city or commercial centre the apostle and his assistants always endeavored to gain a foothold in such places by establishing a mission, which then became the centre or base to which those converts who lived scattered in the vicinity could turn. The apostles did not consider it a delay if they tarried in one city for a year more or less, in order to firmly establish such missions or organize congregations. These were the bases from which they worked in their plan of Christianizing the whole world.

We also find instances where but one person in a city "believed with his whole house". Such families and private homes became the nucleus for a mission station. The houses were used as hospices and places of refuge. Where but one man or a single woman or even a slave was won over to the new faith, this was not the case. Such persons, however, acted as assistants to the apostles and prepared the way for future work at these places. The private homes were later used to great advantage during the persecutions, when they provided refuge for the Christians.

Whenever the apostle had to continue on his journey, whether in obedience to an injunction from the Lord in a dream or vision or because of opposition, he never failed to leave some assistant to continue the mission. And when he was compelled to send such assistants to other stations, he "ordained elders in every city". Timothy and Titus repeatedly performed this duty, aiding the congregations in the election of some one in their midst who was qualified for this work. They instructed them as to what kind of men Christ desired as ministers. In the Pastoral Letters (to Timothy and Titus) we find a summary of all the necessary requirements of such duties. It probably occurred frequently that they found gifted men without much difficulty to fill such positions, who could exhort by sound doctrine and convince opponents of Christianity. The shorter the time that the apostle or his assistants staid

in a city, the greater the need for them to select some man or men to be deacons or elders as leaders in the mission or congregation. At such times the apostle or one of his helpers had to make close inquiries as to such as were endowed with the necessary gifts, — whether they were blameless, not given to filthy lucre, nor brawlers, nor having two wives (which they may have had before their conversion to Christianity), or had any habits which in any way would hinder the progress of the mission. In short, the election of standing presbyters, elders, pastors or bishops was not so much the duty of the apostles. This was one of the principal duties of the congregation.

The second missionary journey of Paul and Silas was through Syria and Asia Minor. Throughout these regions they exhorted and encouraged the previously founded congregations. In Lystra Timothy joined them, — a talented, pious youth who had been instructed in the faith by his mother Eunice and his grandmother Lois. From Lystra they traveled through Phrygia, Galatia, Bithynia, and Mysia and they intended for the present to restrict their activities to Asia Minor. But when Paul in a vision was beckoned by a man from Macedonia, saying, "Come over into Macedonia and help us!" they changed their course and sailed from Troas over to Europe.

In Philippi, the principal city of Macedonia, the Lord opened the heart of a woman proselyte of Thyatira, Lydia, a seller of purple, and her home became the centre of a growing congregation. In this city Paul drove an evil spirit of divination out of a female slave, who followed him about and annoyed him continually with her cries. The owners of the slave, losing a considerable income from her gift of divination, were incensed at this act of Paul and stirred up the people against him. Paul and Silas were cast into prison. But the Lord released them in a remarkable manner, which also resulted in the conversion and baptism of the keeper of the prison with his whole family that same night. On the next morning, appealing to his rights as a Roman citizen, Paul exacted an honorable release from the authorities of the city.

In Thessalonica, whither the apostle and his companions had come from Philippi, a congregation was formed consisting principally of Greeks. The unbelieving Jews caused a riot, maltreated Jason in whose house the apostle had staid, and compelled the missionaries to leave the city.

In Berea they were at first received favorably. Many Jews daily searched the Scriptures of the Old Testament whether the apostle's preaching agreed with it and whether the prophecies were really fulfilled in Jesus, until a party of unbelieving Jews from Thessalonica incited the Bereans against him. Leaving Silas and Timothy in the city Paul, because the hostility of the Jews was aimed particularly at him, considered it wise to depart and escape the danger. He traveled to Athens accompanied by disciples from Berea.

In Athens Paul preached continually in the synagogue as well as in the market place. Here in the midst of pagan wisdom and religiousness he declared to the Athenians their unknown God, who also bore witness unto himself among

them; and he called them to repentance because God has appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ whom God raised from the dead. — Paul's remarks about resurrection from the dead, however, were ridiculed by some, others promised they would come to hear him again, while still others were turned to Paul and converted, among them Dionysius, a member of the Areopagus, and a gentlewoman named Damaris.

From Athens they went to Corinth, a large, flourishing commercial city, but the seat of unbridled licentiousness. Here Paul met a fellow-craftsman named Aquila and his wife Priscilla. They had recently been driven out of Rome by the edict of Emperor Claudius (41–54 A. D.), forbidding Jews to live in Rome. Silas and Timothy rejoined Paul here. The chief ruler of the synagogue, Crispus, was converted with all his house and baptized. And when this aroused great opposition on the part of the Jews and forced Paul to teach in the house of the proselyte Justus, the congregation grew daily in believers from among the Gentiles.

Driven from Corinth by the hostility of the Jews Paul decided to set out upon his return to Syria. Aquila and Priscilla accompanied him as far as Ephesus, from where he journeyed to Jerusalem. After a brief visit here he went to Antioch. While in Ephesus Aquila and Priscilla met Apollos, a Jew from Alexandria, who believed in Jesus as the Messiah. Being a very talented man and endowed with many excellent gifts, this Christian couple further instructed him in the teachings of Christianity and took him to Corinth, where he successfully continued Paul's work, "for he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was Christ".

On this second missionary journey, during his stay of a year and a half in Corinth, Paul wrote his two letters to the Thessalonians. He was filled with joy when he heard through Timothy of their great faith. He warns the congregation against errors regarding the advent of the Lord, which seem to have endangered the true faith of the Thessalonians, because he speaks of them in his second letter also.

Without entering upon a lengthy argument as to what is epoch-making in church history, we may on the basis of 2 Thess. 2 : 1–8 make the following divisions: —

FIRST EPOCH: The secret activities of the mystery of iniquity.

SECOND EPOCH: The Antichrist's public occupation of the temple of God.

THIRD EPOCH: From the revelation of the Antichrist by the Spirit of the mouth of Christ in Luther's reformation till the final judgment.

These divisions coincide in the main with those commonly made in church history, viz., Ancient Church, Middle Ages, Modern History since Luther.

PAUL'S THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

After a short stay in Antioch we find Paul setting out upon his third missionary tour in the company of Luke, Timothy, and Titus. Passing through Phrygia and Galatia they arrived in Ephesus, remaining there about three years. During three months of this time he preached in the Jewish synagogue. When the hostile spirit of the Jews forced him to vacate, he continued his preaching for two years in the school of a Greek philosopher named Tyrannus. From Ephesus as a basis he extended his activities over a large part of the surrounding territory and his influence made itself felt far and wide.

While working here Paul sent Timothy ahead to Macedonia and Achaia. Paul was finally forced to leave Ephesus because of the hostile activities of one Demetrius, a manufacturer of silver models of the famous shrine of the goddess Diana, who lost considerable trade through the preaching of the Gospel. Arriving in Macedonia he visited the congregations, went as far as Illyricum (Rom. 15 : 19), staid three months in Greece, visiting Corinth, and then returned to Asia Minor by way of Macedonia. In Troas he met his companions and tarried seven days. He then sailed to the islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Sâmos and in Miletus bade farewell to the elders of the congregation at Ephesus, exhorting them in most affectionate terms to abide in the faith. Arriving in Caesarea on his way to Jerusalem the prophet Agabus forewarned him of his imminent arrest in Jerusalem, but he continued on his journey despite the pleading of his friends not to go.

In Jerusalem he delivered the collection, which had been gathered in the churches of Asia Minor and Greece for the poor Christians of Judaea, and spoke with James and the elders who had assembled in James's house of all the things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. And together with him they glorified God for all things. The brethren in Jerusalem warned him that a sentiment hostile to him prevailed among the Christian Jews of Jerusalem. Paul exercised the precaution which the brethren advised and was comparatively safe for about a week, when suddenly some zealots, recognizing him in the temple, seized him and in the mob which gathered Paul undoubtedly would have lost his life had not Lysias, the Roman tribune, rescued him and sent him under escort to the arsenal. Before entering the building the tribune permitted Paul to address the people in the Hebrew language, but all his efforts at explanation were futile. The tribune had already ordered him to be scourged, when he hurriedly retracted his order on Paul's appeal to his Roman citizenship. Thinking to get at the real cause for the riot, the tribune on the following morning brought his prisoner before the Sanhedrin. Here Paul took advantage of the party feeling in the council and declared his belief in a resurrection from the dead. This brought on a conflict between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, the former taking Paul's

part. In the tumult which arose the tribune deemed it wise to remove his prisoner from the sphere of danger and led him back to the Roman camp. A conspiracy against Paul, which was reported to the tribune by a son of Paul's sister, finally prompted the official to send his prisoner under heavy guard and during the night to the procurator Felix in Caesarea.

Five days later the high priest at Jerusalem went down to Caesarea accompanied by a lawyer (orator) named Tertullus and made a futile attempt to have Paul brought within the jurisdiction of the temple police of Jerusalem, which then would give the Sanhedrin control over him. But Felix was convinced of Paul's innocence and kept Paul in his custody, expecting that Paul would offer him a bribe for his release. During this two years' custody Paul enjoyed a great amount of liberty, he had free intercourse with his friends among the Christians, and delivered many a mighty sermon before Felix and King Herod Agrippa I, who with his wife Drusilla were guests of Felix during this period, making a deep impression on all of them. But it remained an impression only, they refused to be converted to Paul's new religion.

At the end of these two years Felix was superseded by Porcius Festus. This new official attempted to rid himself of Paul by playing him into the hands of the Jewish council. This moved Paul finally as a Roman citizen to appeal to Caesar, which then precluded all further attempts on the part of the Jews. Herod Agrippa II was now king and together with his sister Bernice paid the new procurator a visit of welcome. On this occasion Festus arranged a solemn court session in honor of his guests to present his distinguished prisoner to them, to whom he had referred during the conversation. Paul again vindicated himself by relating his entire career as a Christian and in his closing words made a stirring appeal to his audience for Christianity. This so impressed the king that he remarked: "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian". Both Festus and the king, however, agreed that there would be no reason for holding Paul, if he had not appealed to Caesar.

On the first outgoing ship the procurator Festus sent Paul to Rome together with other prisoners and a military escort. Luke and perhaps others of his assistants accompanied him on this voyage. Their first stop was at Lycia in Asia Minor, whence they set sail for Italy despite Paul's warning to wait because the winter season with its storms was already upon them. As a consequence they suffered shipwreck, stranding on the island of Melita (Malta). The entire crew was saved and found shelter among the inhabitants of the island. Paul found lodging in the house of the Roman officer Publius, whose father Paul during the stay cured of a fever by prayer. After a three months' stay on the island through the winter they again set sail and landed at Puteoli, where they found a Christian congregation and tarried there seven days. Several members of the church in Rome came a two days' journey to meet them.

In Rome Paul was delivered to the captain of the imperial guard (praefectus

praetorii). This official permitted him to live in his own hired house and to go about teaching accompanied by a soldier. This favorable treatment was probably the result of the report of the procurator Festus. His trial possibly extended over a period of several years and during all this time Paul was unmolested and preached the Gospel with great zeal, keeping up a steady correspondence with the congregations he had established.

Paul wrote several letters on his third missionary journey while staying in Ephesus, e. g., the letter to the Galatians. The Galatians, alas, had been led astray from the pure Gospel by false teachers, Judaizers, and had become entangled in the meshes of the Jewish ceremonial law. With great zeal and deep-felt solicitude the apostle endeavored to bring them back to the true and only hope of salvation. The first letter to the Corinthians was also written from Ephesus. In Corinth the church was split into factions; church discipline had been abandoned; and various other disorders had broken out among the members, which Paul severely censures in this letter.

In his second letter to the Corinthians, which Paul probably wrote from Macedonia, he rejoices at being able to praise the zeal which they had displayed after the receipt of his first letter. He gives them all kinds of advice respecting the affairs of their congregation and also defends himself against the evil reports which his Jewish enemies were circulating about him.

Not long after, when Paul visited Corinth for three months, he wrote his most important letter, the epistle to the Romans, which was brought to Rome by a deaconess, Phoebe, of the church in Cenchrea (Rom. 16 : 1). The congregation in Rome had been established some time previous to the writing of this letter. In the intercourse between the capital of the empire and the provinces probably many Christians were carried to Rome and there formed a Christian congregation among themselves without the aid of any apostle (Acts 2 : 10; Rom. 16 : 7; 16 : 13). According to Paul's letter it was composed of Jews and Gentiles. Being out of reach of apostolic influence and instruction, the great importance of a Christian congregation in the metropolis of the empire, and likely dissensions between Jews and Gentiles, — all this most likely prompted Paul to write to this congregation, which at that time was personally unknown to him. Under the circumstances Paul's letter would take the form of a treatise on the great principles and doctrines of Christianity. And that is what it actually is. By the all-foreseeing care of the Holy Spirit the Church possesses in this letter an exceedingly costly treasure of the deepest and richest knowledge and an eternally immovable foundation for her faith and hope in Christ. As Luther says in his great introduction to this letter: "This epistle is the main and chief part of the New Testament and the purest Gospel, which well deserves not only to be memorized word for word by every Christian, but ought to be used daily as the daily bread of the soul. For it can not be read too often or exhausted in study; and the more it is used,

the more precious it will become and the greater one's delight". — And now the apostle had arrived in Rome, but in chains.

An abiding proof of the great interest which Paul had in all his congregations during his imprisonment in Rome are the letters which he wrote from Rome to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and the one to the individual Christian Philemon in Colossae. In these, too, Paul warns against false teachers. He sends back the slave Onesimus, whom he had converted in Rome, to his master Philemon. And wherever Paul writes of his imprisonment in these letters he speaks as though he expects to be released very soon. "And having this confidence" he knows that he shall soon abide with his beloved Philippians for their "furtherance and joy of faith". To Philemon he writes: "But withal prepare me also a lodging: for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you".

PAUL'S END.

No man forbidding him", thus Luke closes his book, the Acts of the Apostles. Unmolested Paul preached the Gospel of Christ "in his own hired house" for two years, from the spring of A. D. 61 till the spring of A. D. 63. His hope for an early release seems to have been realized. Partly during this fourth journey and partly after his second arrest he wrote those letters which we commonly call the Pastoral Letters, to Timothy and Titus; they are termed thus because of the numerous instructions they contain respecting the duties of a pastor.

The apostle's last letter before his death is undoubtedly the second one to Timothy. He wrote it from Rome during an imprisonment which was very much unlike his first. At his first trial during this confinement no one was with him, they had all forsaken him. "May it not be laid to their charge", is the apostle's prayer for those who had become weak. Timothy should hasten to Rome before the winter and bring Mark with him because he might be of use to the apostle in the ministry. Only Luke is with him at present. The other companions of the apostle, Titus and Crescens and Tychicus, were busy in other cities; Demas had departed from him in disgrace, "having loved this present world". — Paul's end was approaching; "the time of my departure is at hand; I am now ready to be offered". — "The Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom: to whom be glory forever and ever! Amen".

This is all we know from Scripture concerning the last days of the great apostle who "labored more abundantly than they all". Paul most likely suffered martyrdom in the year 66 or 67 and as a Roman citizen was put to death by the sword.

LATER ACTIVITIES OF THE OTHER APOSTLES.

There is not very much trustworthy information extant regarding the other apostles. "Legends of the Apostles" there are many in early Christian literature; fictitious reports of various saints and martyrs abound. Of Peter, John, and James only we are able to gather some scanty information from early literature.

I. — Not so many decades ago Pope Pius IX tried to make the world believe that Peter founded the congregation in Rome and that he was its first bishop for twenty-five years. But with all her lengthy disputations and hair-splitting sophistry the Romish church will never be able to prove that fact. Nowhere do we find even a vestige of evidence that the congregation in Rome was founded by Peter. If he was bishop there we should at least expect him to be mentioned in that capacity somewhere. Paul would hardly have presumed to write to the Romans as he did, had he known that Peter was bishop there. It is singular, too, that in the sixteenth chapter of the letter to the Romans Paul sends greetings to a large number of Christians, a great many of whom were of no particular prominence whatever, but plain Christians. And the great apostle Peter he should have ignored entirely? Paul's letter dates from A. D. 58; therefore Peter was not in Rome at that time. We have a number of letters of Paul written during his first imprisonment, but in none of them does he as much as mention Peter's presence in Rome, nowhere does he send greetings from him, though conveying such from many other Christians in Rome. Therefore Peter was not in Rome between A. D. 61 and 63. During his second imprisonment which ended with his death Paul complains that he is forsaken by all. That would be a sorry testimony for Peter, if he was in the metropolis at that time. But Peter was not there. — Then again, as often as Paul stops in Jerusalem, he finds Peter there; and Paul is never told: Peter is in Rome. Where in the world are these twenty-five years of Peter's bishopric in Rome to come from!

After the apostolic council in Jerusalem we find Peter mentioned in Gal. 2 : 11, where Paul relates that in Antioch he withstood Peter to the face with sharp, severe criticism (cf. 14—17). From I Cor. 9 : 5 we gather that Peter's wife accompanied him on his travels. From I Peter 5 : 13 we learn that he is in Babylon with Mark, which passage offers no sound reason whatever for the assumption that "Babylon" signifies Rome. The whole connection in which the word "Babylon" is used is wholly devoid of figurative speech. The tradition, however, that Peter suffered martyrdom in Rome on the cross during the time of Nero, we are inclined to accept; in the first place, because of its great age and, in the second place, because it agrees with the words which the risen Lord used at his appearance by the Sea of Tiberias, John 21 : 19, to signify "by what death he (Peter) should glorify God". — But it is very unlikely that Peter came to Rome before the year 63 or 64. Besides the above

quoted letter of the apostle Peter we have a second, addressed to the same congregations, in which he describes the destruction of the earth by fire unto the coming of Christ, which reminds one strongly of the epistle of Jude.

2. — After Paul's death John labored in Ephesus, Paul's former sphere of activity. It was probably during the reign of Domitian that John was exiled to the isle of Patmos in the Greek archipelago, Rev. 1 : 9. He was later allowed to return to Ephesus and labored there in the interest of the congregations of Asia Minor for thirty years unto his death under Caesar Trajan. He was a very old man when he died.

3. — James the Less, the brother of the Lord, whom we met at the apostolic council at Jerusalem, where he showed himself to be a prominent speaker and a leader in the congregation and whom Paul called a "pillar" of the church, Gal. 2 : 9, is the author of the letter bearing his name. He was a very conscientious worker and strictly adhered to the ritual law of the Jews and for that reason was called James the Just. The Jews held him in high esteem for these characteristics. He felt called to establish the Christian faith among the people of the covenant and for that reason always maintained Jerusalem as the base for his apostolic activities. He suffered a martyr's death at the hands of the people of his own race. Fanatic Jews placed him on one of the towers of the temple and demanded that he invoke a curse on Jesus' name. When he instead made a bold confession of his faith in that name he was hurled down and stoned to death.

THE FOUR GOSPELS AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

The letter to the Hebrews, which we so far have not yet touched upon, is rather a treatise on the principles of Christianity, intended most likely for Christian Jews, wherein the author shows most skilfully and aptly that Jesus is the eternal high priest after the order of Melchizedek. We do not know whether the letter was written by Paul or by Apollos (as Luther ingeniously maintains) or by a pupil of one of the apostles (ch. 2 : 3).

Like this letter the first Gospel, that according to St. Matthew, which the early church simply designated by the general term "the Gospel", was obviously written for Jewish converts. Again and again the remark occurs: "this or that, however, was done that might be fulfilled what was said by the prophet saying". This and similar phrases presuppose readers who were familiar with the books of the Old Testament or had easy access to them, so that they could investigate whether in Jesus was fulfilled what the Old Covenant had prophesied of the coming Christ or Messiah. Matthew, one of the twelve and a constant eye-and ear-witness of the miracles and words of Jesus, undertakes to prove that Jesus is the Son of David, Abraham's descendant.

The second Gospel is from the pen of Mark, the same John Mark who now was the companion of Peter, then of Paul. From I Peter 5 : 13 we gather that he was the companion of Peter; later he became the faithful companion of Paul, Col. 4 : 19; Philemon 24; and particularly in II Tim. 4 : 11. During

his long period of daily intercourse with Peter Mark often heard the many details which Peter used to make his Gospel narrative so exceedingly fascinating and interesting. He does not reproduce as many of the addresses of Jesus as Matthew, however. Then, too, his Gospel seems to have been intended for Christian Gentiles.

The third Gospel was written by Luke the physician, Paul's faithful companion. The reason for writing his version of the Gospel is given in the first four verses, which one might well call a preface: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of these things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them to us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word; it seemed good



The Four Evangelists.

to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus (a distinguished Roman), that thou mightest know the certainty of those things (Christian doctrines), wherein thou hast been instructed". No doubt there were many stories afloat which the many believers, eye-witnesses of Jesus' acts, related when they came to a full realization of their Christian faith after Christ's

ascension. Under the circumstances it was easily possible that things were reported with more or less inaccuracy, not intentionally so. But this was a serious and dangerous condition which might lead one or the other to believe these more or less fictitious details, basing his faith on these instead of the true facts, which he perhaps under the circumstances was not able to learn. In anticipation of this danger Luke, prompted by the Holy Spirit, wrote his Gospel. Theophilus should know the true facts, so that his faith might have the sure Foundation, the Truth, and not fiction. The Acts of the Apostles seemingly was written with the same intention. Luke called it his second treatise, and he probably completed it during Paul's two years' confinement in Rome from A. D. 61 to 63.

The last of the four Gospels is that bearing the name of Jesus' beloved disciple. He describes many miracles which are also found in the other Gospels; but John's obvious intention was to reproduce the addresses of Jesus, which he spoke in connection with them. He also wrote down such words of the Lord in which he testifies that God is his Father and sent him to be the Savior of the world. John's main object was to show, on the one hand, that in Jesus the Word, the eternal Son of God, who was before Abraham, was made flesh; that the Son of God dwelt among us and displayed his glory, the glory as of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth; — and on the other hand, that he came unto his own and his own, the Jews, his brethren in the flesh, received him not. This double testimony pervades the whole Gospel from beginning to end. And it was written "that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name".

Throughout the greater portion of the Apostolic Age we had the New Testament as our guide and it was but seldom that we had to resort to conjecture. But the situation changes as soon as we have no infallibly certain Word of God to rely upon and must base our narrative on human historical records. Even such as are of the truth and love the truth can err and have often erred. Under these circumstances it becomes the duty of the historian to pick out the reliable sources, distinguish the true facts from the legendary and let them speak for themselves. If in this endeavor the historian maintains a clear conscience, having intentionally omitted no essential facts, having placed nothing in a wrong light, and in judging between right and wrong having used the Word of God as his standard and rule, then he may despite all the small or large faults which his human work may possess nevertheless comfort himself with the knowledge that faithfulness and truthfulness have been his guide and that his weak and frail efforts are approved by him, who alone knows the whole truth because he is the Truth.

But before we take leave of the Apostolic Age we must take notice of two events in early history, viz., the persecution of the Christians under Nero and the destruction of Jerusalem.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS UNDER NERO.

Writers of historic novels have made copious use of this subject in the last forty or fifty years. So much greater care, therefore, must be exercised to remain within the bounds of historic facts.

In his excellent work "The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism" G. Uhlhorn justly emphasizes in the introduction to his description of this persecution of Christians under Nero that this storm which broke out over the Christians in Rome was no persecution in the later meaning of the word, but only a sudden, fierce outburst of hate, though for this reason all the more bloody and horrible.

On the night of the eighteenth of July, A. D. 64 (the date coinciding with that on which the Gauls had set fire to the city, a fact of special importance to the superstitious), a great conflagration broke out in Rome. The fire started in the booths near the Circus Maximus, in which many of the Jews carried on their trade. Here where many combustibles were accumulated it made its first great headway. All efforts of the firemen and the soldiers, who tore down houses with engines of war, in order to arrest the flames, were futile. Six days and nights the conflagration raged, until it finally was under control far away from its starting point, at the wall of Servius Tullius near the gardens of Maecenas. But the end was not yet. The fire broke out anew in another quarter of the city and raged three days more. Of the fourteen "regions" of the city only four escaped untouched. The metropolis of the world was one heap of ashes and ruins. The calamity was beyond conception.

As always happens at such times, the origin of the fire was the subject of much discussion and inquiry. Popular suspicion pointed to Nero as the incendiary. Some men claimed to have seen men hurling firebrands into the houses, and frustrating all efforts to extinguish the fire, declaring that the emperor had so ordered. Others claimed positively to have recognized the incendiaries as imperial servants. Still others related that Nero himself had reveled in the beautiful spectacle of this sea of fire; that he had been a spectator of the conflagration from the tower of Maecenas, and in his well-known stage costume had declaimed a poem on the burning of Troy. Whether there is any truth in these reports can hardly be ascertained at this late date. "The impartial verdict of history must be that it is highly improbable that Nero was really the incendiary, since he was not in Rome at all, but in Actium, and only returned when the fire threatened to attack his palace". But this much is certain, the rumor found credence. Nero was accused of having set fire



The Last Prayer of the Martyrs.

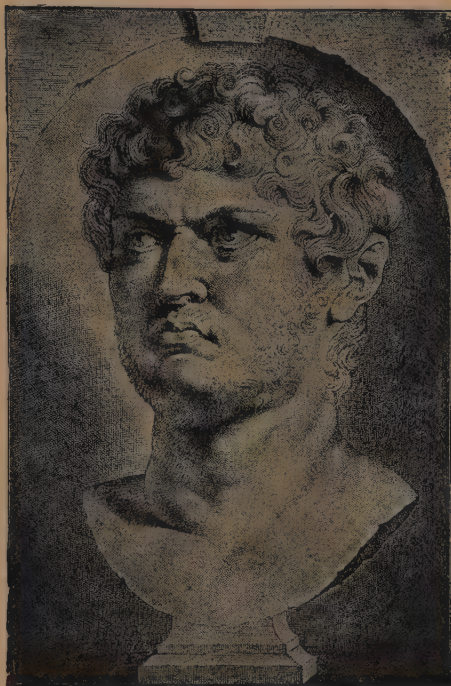
to the world's capital for his own pleasure. It made no difference that he hurried to and fro, from one part of the city to the other, directing and encouraging the fire-fighters to greater efforts; neither did the great liberality which he displayed after the fire, when he came to the relief of the distressed people, help him regain their favor, nor the fact that he promoted the rebuilding of the city in even grander style. The sacrifices which he offered, the services of atonement and consecration which he instituted were of no avail. The rumor remained in spite of all. The rage of the people demanded a victim and the lot fell upon the Christians.

The Jews, hostile to Christianity, used every means at their command to direct the hatred of the heathens toward the Christians. And it is not at all unlikely that they were responsible for the reports which were circulated concerning the Christians as early as Nero's time and which were only too readily believed, viz., that the Christians practised most shameful abominations in their secret meetings, that they ate human flesh, and committed other licentious acts.

Tacitus reports that Nero falsely charged the Christians with incendiarism. That just they, who were the last ones to do such a deed, were seized as the perpetrators of this crime, need not surprise any one. They were hated for their alleged abominations and therefore seemed equally capable of this crime and worthy of punishment.

Besides, as already indicated, suspicion

could easily be diverted to the Jews, and in Rome the Christians were still considered a Jewish sect. The fire had started near the Circus, where the Jews had their shops; and the quarters of the city inhabited by them were among the few sections of the city which the fire had spared. But among the Jews again the heathens regarded the Christians as the worst and, because of their steadily increasing numbers, as the most dangerous sect. By making them suffer for the fire, the heathen hoped to gain the additional advantage of ridding himself of a most pernicious sect. So it was in the interest of the Jew to point to the Christian. Whether or not Poppaea Sabina, Nero's wife and a friend of the Jews, had a hand in this persecution must remain an open question. We have no positive information on the point and what French historians



Nero.

relate of an intrigue of Poppaea against Acte, Nero's mistress, who is reported to have been a Christian, is pure fiction, evolved from detached and wholly inadequate implications. Anyway, at first a few Christians were arrested and they confessed under torture. What? we are not told; perhaps only that they were Christians. Even though they confessed themselves guilty of incendiarism, those who did so either were no Christians or torture forced them in a moment of weakness to make untrue statements. A veil is drawn over the matter as we find it reported in Tacitus, done not so much by the historian himself as by those who have investigated this point. On the testimony of those first arrested further search was made for Christians. A large number of arrests followed; and if the prisoners could not be convicted of incendiarism, then at least, as Tacitus remarks in cold blood, of hatred of the human race (*odium generis humani*). Popular opinion considered this sufficient evidence; such people were liable to commit almost any crime. The Christians were, therefore, convicted of incendiarism, whether there was any evidence at hand to prove it or not.

A carnival of bloodshed then followed such as Rome, thoroughly accustomed as she was to murder, had never seen before. They were not satisfied with simply executing these alleged criminals. In order to magnify their crime, they were tortured with every form of torment human ingenuity could devise. The greater the torture, the greater their crime, was the popular estimate. Those who were crucified and suffered the same death as their Lord and Savior, could consider themselves fortunate. Others were sewed into skins of wild beasts and thrown to wild dogs, to be torn to pieces. Others were used in theatrical performances.

When Clement of Rome writes in his letter to the Corinthians: "Through jealousy the women Danaides and Dirces were persecuted; and suffering terrible and unholy indignities, they steadfastly finished the course of faith, and received a noble reward, though disfigured bodily", he describes a scene in the persecution under Nero. Christian women were staged as Danaides and Dirces; and no doubt the one who had to represent Dirce, in reality suffered that which the legend related of her, viz., she was bound to a raging bull and dragged to death.

But the climax to this gruesome carnival came in the evening. The populace was gathered in Nero's gardens, to be entertained with magnificent games. All around were blazing torches of pitch to dispel the darkness. They were Christians covered and coated with oakum and tar, bound to pine stakes, which were lighted and burned like torches. Juvenal, a satirist, who probably was an eyewitness of this scene, describes this gruesome spectacle in one of his poems thus:

"Dar'st thou speak of Tigellinus' guilt?
Thou too shalt shine like those we saw
Stand at the stake with throat transfixed
Smoking and burning".

Nero drove about in his chariot, fantastically attired as a charioteer, and the Roman populace shouted its delight.

Two pagan historians supply us with meager reports regarding this Neronian persecution, Tacitus and Suetonius. Tacitus leaves it an open question, whether the conflagration was an accident or an outrage perpetrated by Nero (*forte an dolo principis incertum*). Suetonius, however, declares: "He (Nero) pretended that the ugliness of the old buildings and the narrow, crooked streets offended his eye; and for that reason so deliberately had the city set on fire, that many consuls found supplies of oakum and torches in the houses of his servants, without daring to touch these men". Tacitus also mentions that the Christians, who were killed with such terrible tortures, "awakened a feeling of sympathy, as though they were being sacrificed not for the public welfare, but to satisfy the murderous desire of one man".

Nero lived but a few years after this murder of the Christians. He committed suicide to escape being shamefully whipped to death in public. Nero's name was so abhorred, that it became a common saying among the Christians that he had retreated beyond the river Euphrates, to reappear some day as the Antichrist.

THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

The other event in early Christian history, which took place shortly after the Neronian persecution, was the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. When Jesus rode into Jerusalem a few days before his death, he wept over the city and prophesied its destruction because of its unbelief. And when he some days later went on his way to Calvary, he admonished the women who wept over him, that they should rather weep for themselves and their children because of the impending judgment. But a whole generation passed by before the consequences of that word which they had cried out at Jesus' trial before Pilate: "His blood come upon us and our children!" descended upon that city which had murdered its prophets. Stephen had fallen as the first martyr. James, the brother of John, was beheaded. The younger James, the Just, was also murdered at the hands of fanatic Jews in Jerusalem. With a prayer on his lips for his enemies he, too, had died. Such events as these proved more and more the truth of the Lord's words when he said to the Jews: "Behold, I send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes; and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city". It was after the murder of James the Just that finally the threat was carried into effect, which the Lord had pronounced over Jerusalem: "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate" (Matt. 23 : 24-38; Luke 19 : 41-44). The more the Gospel was rejected by the Jews, the more general grew their moral corruption. Not only did crimes of every kind increase by leaps and bounds,

but every bond of civil order was gradually dissolved. Impostors used the vain fantastic Messianic hope, which now disturbed the people more than ever, to bolster up their Messianic claims and traveled up and down the country with their adherents; hordes of bandits joined them, terrorizing the country and filling it with ruins and bloodshed.

These disorders gave the Romans the much desired opportunity for all kinds of oppression. Under the Roman governor Florus, who took office in A. D. 64, these outrages reached their limit. He not only levied exorbitant taxes and enforced their payment with utmost rigor, but he released the most dangerous criminals for any monetary consideration. Property of the wealthy



Titus.
(Bust in Museum at Florence.)

was confiscated and the owners sent into slavery. The authorities were in league with bandits and robbers and the complaints of the unfortunate victims received not the slightest attention. These conditions gradually developed into a general rebellion on all sides, and civil war was waged between two Jewish factions. When the Romans attempted to suppress the revolution these two parties united against the common enemy. When the Romans withdrew, they flew at each other's throats in a fierce battle for supremacy.

At one time the procurator of Syria, Cestus Gallus, succeeded in getting to the very gates of Jerusalem with a well-equipped army. But his wavering, undecided attitude cost him almost his whole army in a wild retreat. Encouraged by this victory the allied factions now made enormous preparations of a military nature throughout Palestine. The Emperor hearing of this sent a large army with one of his best generals, Vespasian, into the rebellious country without delay. Vespasian in a short time subdued all of Palestine, except Judaea, and was already making preparations for the siege of Jerusalem, when he was proclaimed emperor by the armies of the empire on Nero's death. He left his son Titus in command of the army to complete his work and end the war.

In the meanwhile a whole year passed before Titus approached Judaea for the siege of Jerusalem. Instead of utilizing this time in making preparations for the coming siege of their city, the Jews fought among themselves. Instead

of two factions, three now fought one another under the respective leadership of John, Eleazar, and Simon. Of three John and Simon survived and were fighting one another when the Roman army stood before the walls of the city. They ridiculed the demands of Titus for a peaceful surrender of the city and thus the time came of which Jesus had spoken forty years before: "For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation".

The most disastrous siege of all history now began which continued over a period of three and a half years. The city was crowded with about three million Jews, who had come to the city to celebrate the passover. Desperate efforts were made to break through the lines of the Romans. Sorties upon sorties were made in vain. In the city itself another enemy came to the aid of the Roman army. The food supply was exhausted and a famine broke out. Thousands perished in the streets; the whole city was turned into one great charnel house. Disease and pestilence reaped a terrible harvest among the thousands of famished Jews, and they were compelled to cast the corpses over the walls to the great delight of the Roman soldiers. Hordes of hunger-crazed men swept over the city day and night, killing every one who came into their path, ripping the bodies open in their mad search for food that might yet be undigested. And the one who managed to remain alive in the fierce fighting which then ensued devoured it. None were spared, children, women and men, old and young alike. It is not necessary for us here to go into all the details of the curse which God fulfilled upon the city. Anyone may read the account of this event as Josephus, the Jewish historian, relates it in his book "The Antiquities of the Jews".

Titus stormed one wall after another and finally came within striking distance of the temple, which he commanded should be preserved and not destroyed. But a Roman soldier in a moment of uncontrollable ardor hurled a firebrand into one of the chambers filled with costly raiments, and before any one realized what had happened, the whole temple was one mass of flames. Veritable rivers of blood flowed down the steps of the main entrance in the slaughter which ensued between Jews and Romans, and corpses were strewn about in heaps, soaked with the blood of human beings. The cries of the victors mingled with the screams of despair of the vanquished, with the roar of the devouring flames and the thunder of falling walls and the crash of temple furniture and other utensils, which the frenzied priests hurled among the oncoming Romans.

The Romans actually leveled the city with the ground, as Christ had prophesied, and left no stone upon the other in their search for valuable treasures, which might be hidden in the foundations of the buildings. It is esti-

mated that about 1,100,000 perished in the siege and about 97,000 were captured who were either sold into slavery or sent to the important cities of the empire, to be used in the festivities, which were now being held everywhere in honor of the great victory. And the records on the triumphal arch, erected in honor of Titus and standing to this day, show the golden table of the temple, the seven-branched candlestick, silver trumpets, and various other spoils from the temple, which were carried to Rome, besides the many



Triumphal Arch in Rome, Commemorating Titus' Victory.
(Photographic Reproduction.)

distinguished Jewish captives who were led before Titus' chariot in his triumphal march into Rome.

That was the end of that great city with its beautiful temple on Zion, filled with inestimable treasures, and its glory was ground into the dust for all time, its ruins remaining as a warning unto all generations of kindred and tongue that a just and holy God abhors a sanctuary, desecrated by the unholy desires and works of man who had turned it into a murderers' den.



THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

* *

The term "Apostolic Fathers" is a designation for a number of authors who lived about A. D. 150. Throughout the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of the New Testament we find a number of apostolic assistants or companions mentioned, who aided the first missionaries of the Church in their endeavors to comply with Christ's command to preach the Gospel in all the world. They were the messengers who conveyed the apostolic letters, aided in the building up of the congregations and preserving the true, genuine Word of God among the first-fruits of the Gospel. In this connection we readily recall Barnabas, Silas, Timothy, Titus, Apollos, John Mark, Luke, and others.

The names of three such apostolic assistants occur again in the early literature of the Church, viz., Barnabas, Hermas, and Clement. But the first two evidently must have been other than the companions of Paul, bearing the same name; for the spirit which pervades these writings to which their names are attached is foreign to the sober ideas and thoughts, which we find expressed in the letters of the apostles of the New Testament. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers are largely of a practical nature, containing many exhortations; they do not attain to the noble heights of learning of the apostles. They are rather the after-glow of a setting apostolic age. Many false ideas have already crept in and the many allegorical interpretations of these post-apostolic writers tend to distort the clear words of Holy Writ, especially of the Old Testament.

I. — The latter is particularly true of the EPISTLE OF BARNABAS. Whether Barnabas, the companion of Paul on his first missionary journey, was really the author of the letter extant under his name, has been the subject of much controversy. The names and residence of the persons to whom this letter was addressed are not given. It consists of twenty-one chapters. The first part treats of the abrogation of the Mosaic dispensation and of the types and prophecies relating to Christ. The last four chapters are composed entirely of practical directions and exhortations. Comparing this Epistle of Barnabas with those of the apostles we find that the author treats the Old Testament in a manner entirely foreign to the apostles. The author's allegorical interpretations lead him into many inaccuracies and into a laby-

rinth of false ideas. We miss the sober atmosphere of a Paul, Peter or John. The Barnabas of the Epistle can not have been that Barnabas who was a companion of Paul. The great apostle would hardly have associated with such a Barnabas as the alleged author of this letter.

Nevertheless, the Epistle of Barnabas by citing variously from the New Testament, as for instance at the close of the fourth chapter where the writer introduces a quotation from the New Testament with the words, "as it was written", — proves to us that the Gospels, which were read in the Christian assemblies, at that time already were looked upon as the authoritative, inspired Word of God by the Christian congregations, placed on an equal footing with the canonical writings of the Old Testament.

2. — Of more importance than the foregoing is the EPISTLE OF CLEMENT OF ROME to the Corinthians. There are various manuscripts extant with Clement's name attached, but his first letter to the Corinthians, written from Rome, is commonly accepted as coming from his pen. Of his life we know nothing, except what this first letter tells us. We may associate him with the Clement mentioned by Paul in his letter to the Philippians (IV, 3), whom he speaks of as a fellow-laborer. But this is conjecture only. Clement in writing from Rome makes two remarks in his letter to the Corinthians regarding Peter and Paul, which are of particular interest. Of Peter he writes: "Peter, who because of unrighteous jealousy suffered not one of two, but many trials and having thus given his testimony, went to the glorious place which was his due". Regarding Paul he remarks: "He was a herald both in the East and in the West, he gained the noble fame of his faith, he taught righteousness to all the world, and when he had reached the limits of the West he gave his testimony before the rulers, and thus passed from the world and was taken up into the Holy Place, — the greatest example of endurance". From Rome "the limits of the West" would be Spain, and undoubtedly that is what Clement meant. We read in Paul's letter to the Romans (XV, 24) that he intended to journey to Spain. But Luke in his Acts of the Apostles does not relate that event. However, as we explained in a previous chapter, Paul seems to have been a prisoner in Rome twice. Between the first imprisonment and that which Paul's letter to Timothy seems to indicate as his second confinement in Rome the apostle could easily have made that intended journey to Spain. It is because of these references that Clement's letter is valuable. Otherwise it contains many exhortations to maintain peace within the Corinthian congregation and to obey the presbyters.

3. — Among the "Apostolic Fathers" IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH was one of the noblest characters. He was a disciple of the apostle John and died a martyr during the reign of Trajan (98—117), who while visiting at Antioch summoned Ignatius before him and upon his confession that he was a Christian, sentenced him to be thrown to the wild beasts in the Coliseum at Rome. It may seem rather peculiar that the emperor had him put to death

in Rome instead of in Antioch before the eyes of the members of his congregation. But God's ways are inscrutable. Ignatius' journey to Rome with an escort of ten soldiers was more of a triumphal march than a funeral procession. He was taken to Smyrna where he tarried for several months as the guest of Polycarp, the bishop of the congregation in that city. Delegations from all surrounding churches were sent to Smyrna, petitioning him to allow them to intercede for him before the imperial tribunal to have his sentence commuted, but on his steady refusal they encouraged him for the coming ordeal and conveyed his parting words to their brethren at home. Ignatius wrote four letters from here to as many congregations.

From Smyrna they proceeded to Troas where the same reception awaited him as in the former city. From Troas he wrote three letters, one to Polycarp. Before leaving this city on his way over Macedonia to Italy Ignatius received the glad news that the persecution against his congregation in Antioch had ceased. The weather being unfavorable they landed in Ostia instead of Puteoli in Italy, as Ignatius had desired. He was received by a large number of Christians from Rome, who again pleaded with him to permit them to petition for his pardon. But he refused. His last prayer before being thrown to the wild beasts was that the persecution might soon end. The few bones that were left were collected by faithful Christians and brought to Antioch for decent burial.

4. — Another disciple of the apostle John was POLYCARP, bishop of Smyrna, with whom Ignatius staid while on his way to Rome. Polycarp died in the time of Marcus Aurelius. He wrote a letter to the Philippians which is still extant, and from an account of his martyrdom, which was read in his congregation annually on the date of his death, we gather some information regarding his end. Being the leader of the Christians at Smyrna he was singled out by the populace, and the authorities after much searching (his congregation had urged him to flee into the country) finally arrested him and brought him to trial. Because of his great age efforts were made by the judge to persuade him to recant, curse Christ, and use the phrase "Our Lord and God the Emperor". But to all the threats and demands of the proconsul Polycarp replied simply: "Eighty-six years have I served Him and He has never done me harm. How can I curse my King who has saved me?" The judge, not being able to dissuade him, sentenced him to be burned at the stake. When the flames did not burn him, but seemed to form a billow around his body like a sail, they thrust a sword into him and the blood which flowed from his wounds almost quenched the fire. His ashes were collected by members of his flock and kept as a treasure more precious than diamonds and fine gold. The date of Polycarp's death was observed annually as his heavenly birthday and the account of his martyrdom read in the church. The persecution ceased soon after his death.

5. — The SHEPHERD OF HERMAS is an odd little book which was

probably written about A. D. 140. It is of no particular value, containing visions, commandments, and parables of which some are very beautiful. The book otherwise contains many false notions and teachings. This name Hermas has often been incorrectly associated with that mentioned by Paul in his letter to the Romans (XVI, 14).

6. — Fragments of a book by PAPIAS, bishop of the Phrygian Hierapolis, are extant under the title of "Discourses of the Lord", which the author alleges to have received by oral tradition. They are of no great value.

7. — The author of the LETTER OF DIOGNETUS was probably a disciple of one of the apostles. It contains a passage regarding the Christians' place in this world which is well worth noting.

"Christians do not differ from other people in country, manner of speech or customs. They do not live in cities of their own, they speak no language peculiar to them, they lead no strange life. They observe the customs of the country in dress, manner of eating, and live like other people. Nevertheless they lead a life which everybody marvels at. They live in their native land, but as strangers. They enjoy all the privileges of citizens and suffer all things as guests. Every foreign land is their native land and yet their native land too is a foreign country to them. They live in the flesh, but not according to the flesh. They live on earth, yet as citizens of heaven. They obey the laws and are superior to them. They love all men and are persecuted by all. They are poor, but make many rich; they suffer want in all things, yet are richly blessed. They are reviled, but bless in return; they are scorned, yet honor others. Christians are to the world what the soul is to the body. In the midst of the world they are not of the world".

8. — A highly interesting and valuable book is the small work called DIDACHE or TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. It was found by Bryennios in Constantinople in the year 1883 and was probably written towards the end of the first or the beginning of the second century (between A. D. 90 and 120). The first six chapters treat of the Way of Life and the Way of Death, which is very similar to a part of the letter by Barnabas. The latter chapters treat of baptism, fasting, daily prayer, and the holy communion; rules are given for the treatment of the teachers of the Divine Word and of the peripatetic brethren, instructions how to elect bishops, and exhortations to be prepared for the Lord's coming. The book is most important because it affords us a very valuable insight into the life and organization of the earliest Christian churches. Baptists have always claimed that baptism by immersion is the only correct form and that this mode of baptism was used by the early Christians in the first three centuries. The Didache, however, says of the baptism of adults: "Baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit in running water (spring water, a river or brook); but if thou hast no running water, baptize in other water, and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. But if thou hast neither, pour water

three times on the head in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit".
— Christians should pray the Lord's Prayer three times daily.

One can readily see that the object of the book was to serve as a guide for Christians. It contains much good and useful material; but it has one great fault: it does not distinguish between the commands of the Divine Word and what is merely church custom. It is not surprising at all, therefore, that we soon after find the rules and regulations of the church placed on an equal footing with Scriptural commands. The loss of this distinction later was the cause of many disputes and evils in the church.



THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS.

* *

If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household! They will persecute you, put you out of the synagogues, kill you; yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service".

These prophecies in the Gospels were well known to every disciple of Jesus. And who will tell how often these very words were fulfilled in every detail in the first three centuries of the Christian era? We have already noted some of the sufferings and persecutions which Jesus' disciples had to endure. But in these great persecutions we shall find even greater suffering and larger numbers of confessors who laid down their lives for their faith in Christ. In these systematic campaigns against Christianity none were spared, neither old nor young, men or women, girls or boys; of every rank, slaves and freedmen, laymen and pastors, — an endless chain of confessors and martyrs whose blood became the seed out of which grew ever greater numbers of Christians ready to lay down their lives for His name's sake.

Historians usually count ten great persecutions, differing widely in intensity and fierceness as well as extent and duration. Although it happened quite frequently that the Christians fell victims to the momentary caprice or arbitrariness of some governor or procurator or to the passionate fury of a heathen mob or to the malice of the Jews, as a general rule the confessors were always subjected to trial according to due process of law of the empire up to the middle of the third century. The persecution of the Christians under Nero, however, was not general, but limited more or less to the city of Rome.

The rapid increase of Christianity under DOMITIAN (A. D. 81—96) was viewed by the emperor with ever growing suspicion. And when he was told that relatives of Jesus Christ, descendants of the royal house of David, still lived in Palestine and that they believed in certain prophecies, that one out of this house would some time rule the world, he made investigations and two kinsmen of Jesus, grandsons of Judas, the "brother of the Lord", were brought before him in Rome. But seeing their poverty and rustic simplicity and hearing them speak of the kingdom of Christ as being not earthly, but heav-

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only, fully to be revealed at the end of the world, when Jesus would come to judge the quick and the dead, — he let them go. Tradition reports that on their return they were made bishops of congregations. But many a Christian who refused to use the phrase: "Our Lord and God Domitian" was arrested and executed. Domitian treated the embracing of Christianity as a crime against the state (*crimen majestatis*). Under Domitian John was banished to the isle of Patmos. Until the end of the first century no general persecution was waged against the Christians.

THE PERSECUTIONS UNDER TRAJAN.

(A. D. 90—117.)

Under Domitian's successor, Nerva, the Christians were not molested for a period of two years. But under Trajan the situation again became serious for the Christians. In his time Trajan was famed for his noble character, his keen sense of justice, and his great bravery. He led his armies to many victories and under him the Roman Empire included almost all the nations and tribes of the then known world, reaching from Spain to India. But like his friend Pliny he was wholly ignorant of the nature of Christianity. He considered the Christians a foolish, stubborn people. He was the first to formally proclaim Christianity a proscribed religion, as it had been all along in fact. His decision regulated the governmental treatment of Christianity for more than a century. It is embodied in his correspondence with the younger Pliny, who was governor of Bithynia in Asia Minor from 109 to 111.

Pliny was not unlike his superior in many respects. As a Roman statesman he looked upon the state laws as supreme and absolute, to which every subject of the empire must render unqualified obedience. In the administration of his office Pliny came in constant contact with the Christians. He himself saw in that religion only a "depraved and immoderate superstition", and he could not account for its great popularity. His investigations brought a large number of Christians into his court and a large number of them were put to death. Two female slaves were arrested during this period and subjected to a rigorous examination under torture to force them to confess, in order to gain the real nature of this "superstition". But all he could get out of them was "that the Christians assembled on an appointed day (Sunday) at sunrise, sang responsively a song to Christ as to God, and then pledged themselves by an oath not to do any evil work, to commit no theft, robbery, nor adultery, not to break their word, nor sacrifice property intrusted to them. Afterwards (at evening) they assembled again to eat ordinary and common food (the *agape*)". Pliny soon became perplexed by the spectre which he had summoned; and the many questions which arose in his treatment of this "superstition" prompted him to report to the emperor that this "superstition" was

constantly spreading, not only in the cities, but also in the villages of Asia Minor, and captivated people of every age, rank, and sex, so that the temples were almost forsaken and the sacrificial victims found no sale. To stop this progress he had condemned many Christians to death and sent others, who were Roman citizens, to the imperial tribunal. But he requested the emperor to give him more explicit instructions under these circumstances.

In reply Trajan wrote: "You have adopted the right course, my friend, with regard to the Christians; for no universal rule, to be applied to all cases, can be laid down in this matter. They should not be searched for; but when accused and convicted, they should be punished; yet if any one denies that he has been a Christian, and proves it by action, namely by worshipping our gods, he is to be pardoned upon his repentance, even though suspicion may still cleave to him from his antecedents. But anonymous accusations must not be admitted in any criminal process; it sets a bad example and is contrary to our age". To be convicted of being a Christian, therefore, meant death.

Not all those who professed to be Christians now stood the test. The large number of conversions to Christianity had been general and rapid, and then too, had occurred at a time when no disadvantages were to be feared in accepting the Christian faith. Such conversions are seldom sincere and lasting. When this persecution, therefore, set in, there was a marked falling away from the faith and the pagan temples were again filling and everything seemed to be coming back to its normal state. The governor began to cherish the ambition that he would soon have control of Christianity and be able to suppress it. He did not know, however, that not even the gates of hell shall prevail against the Church. There were still large numbers who gladly preferred death to a shameful denial of their Lord. And in general we may say that the Lord visited this persecution upon the Church, in order to sweep clean his threshing floor and separate the chaff from the wheat. This persecution proved an inestimable blessing to the Church and strengthened rather than weakened the believers' faith in Jesus Christ.

THE PERSECUTIONS UNDER MARCUS AURELIUS.

(A. D. 161—180.)

Hadrian, a relative of Trajan and adopted by him on his deathbed, was a man of brilliant talents and careful education, but of rather doubtful morality and governed by changing moods. He is represented both as a friend and a foe of the Church, but did not trouble the Christians to any appreciable extent. Under his successor, Antoninus Pius (137—161), the Church enjoyed another period of comparative peace. He refused to trouble the Christians and everywhere quelled the riots and violent outbreaks on account of the frequent public calamities. But under Marcus Aurelius the

situation changed again. He was the philosopher on the throne, belonging to the late Stoic school, which believed in the immediate absorption after death into the Divine Essence, and he, therefore, considered the Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul as vicious and dangerous to the welfare of the state. He was a great legislator and administrator, and withal was one of the ablest of Roman emperors. But he had no sympathy with Christianity and instituted a fierce persecution against all his Christian subjects, many of whom served in his army.

During his reign the empire was visited by a number of conflagrations, a destructive overflow of the Tiber, an earthquake, insurrections, and particularly by pestilence and famine, which spread from Ethiopia to Gaul. This gave rise to many bloody persecutions, in which Marcus Aurelius, instead of curbing the fury of the populace which claimed that these calamities were a punishment of the gods because the Christians refused to worship them, — united with his pagan subjects and issued edicts against the Christians, which were the signal for a general slaughter of the Christians throughout the empire.

Of isolated cases of martyrdom during this period we must mention that of JUSTIN MARTYR. He was born toward the close of the first century or in the beginning of the second in Sichem of Samaria. He was endowed with extraordinary gifts which he later employed to brilliant advantage in the service of his Lord. Judging from his father's employment of many teachers and Justin's many journeys, he must have been a man of some means.

His conversion occurred in early manhood. Thirsting for truth, he made the round of the systems of philosophy and knocked at every gate of wisdom. He first went to a Stoic, but found that he considered the knowledge of God impossible; then to a Peripatetic, but he was more anxious for a good fee than for imparting instruction; next to a celebrated Pythagorean, but he demanded too much preliminary knowledge of music, astronomy, and geometry, before he would teach him the highest truths. At last he threw himself into the arms of Platonism under the guidance of a distinguished teacher who had recently come to the city. This teacher recommended solitary meditations and told him that the source of true wisdom lay in man himself. Justin withdrew into solitude; it is not surprising at all, however, that he did not find any peace here either, for in himself he could find nothing but conflict and sin, no peace and salvation. But God came to his rescue at this point.

While on a solitary walk not far from the seashore, a venerable Christian of pleasant countenance entered into a conversation with him, which changed the course of his life. The unknown friend shook his confidence in all human wisdom and pointed him to the writings of the Hebrew prophets, who were older than the philosophers and had seen and spoken the truth, not as reasoners, but as witnesses. More than this: they had foretold the coming of Christ and their prophecies were fulfilled in every detail in Jesus of Nazareth.

The old man then departed and Justin saw him no more. But he took his advice and in a short time found that true philosophy which rests upon the revelation of the Old and New Testaments. After a long search he had at last found the pearl of great price. Thus the enthusiastic Platonist became a believing Christian.

After his conversion Justin sought the society of the Christians and received further instruction in the saving doctrines of the Gospel. He then devoted himself wholly to the vindication of the Christian religion and utilized his excellent gifts in the cause of Him whom he had learned to esteem as his one and all. He wrote against a certain Marcion whose attacks on Christianity threatened to make many Christians waver in their faith, and he defended his persecuted brethren fearlessly. He addressed an "Apology" to Emperor Antoninus Pius in defense of the Christians, which undoubtedly had much to do with that emperor's lenient treatment of the Christians. He also addressed one to Emperor Marcus Aurelius, with less success. Justin's confession of Christianity was deemed sufficient in the opinion of Marcus Aurelius to have him brought to trial and condemned to death with six other Christians. Fearlessly and joyously he faced death. And the best, the most fitting monument which the Christian Church could have raised to honor the memory of his great faith in the living Christ, was the surname "Martyr".

Under the same emperor the churches in Lyons and Vienne also underwent a severe trial. From Smyrna and other cities in Asia Minor Christianity was carried on the highways of commerce to the southern parts of France, and in a short time flourishing congregations grew up in Lyons and Vienne. The heathen viewed the appearance of Christianity in Gaul with ever-increasing suspicion and by every subtle means at their command tried to hinder its growth. The persecution here first took on the form of jibes, insults, and slanders on the part of the heathen population of these cities, but later was supported by the authorities who entered into the spirit of the opposition, though reluctantly at first. Vettius Pagatus, a young man of noble birth, dared to step up in court and offer to prove that the Christians were innocent. But in reply he was seized and put to death with the other Christians.

Other distinguished martyrs of this Gallic persecution were the bishop Pothinus who, though ninety years of age and just recovered from a sickness, was subjected to all sorts of abuses and then thrown into a dismal dungeon where he died two days after; Sanctus, the deacon of Vienne, who was subjected to most inhuman tortures (red hot brass plates were fastened to the most sensitive parts of his body, so that when removed the torn flesh hung in shreds from his body), but remained steadfast to the end; Attalus and Maturus, both prominent Christians in the congregation, who being forced to fight wild beasts in the arena were devoured by them to the delight of the Roman populace; the virgin Blandina, a slave, who showed almost superhuman strength and constancy under the most cruel tortures and unholy indig-

nities, and was at last thrown in a net to a wild steer who ended her misery; Ponticus, a boy of fifteen years, who could be deterred by no sort of cruelty from confessing his Savior. — Houses were plundered, the corpses of the Christians which covered the streets were shamefully mutilated, then burned and the ashes cast into the Rhone, lest any remnants of the enemies of the gods might desecrate the soil. The martyrs of Lyons further distinguished themselves by their true humility, disclaiming in their prisons that title of honor as due only to the faithful and true witnesses, the first-born from the dead, the Prince of Life, and to those of his followers who had already sealed their fidelity with their blood. They prayed for their enemies: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!"

PERSECUTIONS UNDER SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

(A. D. 193—211.)

Under the immediate successors of Marcus Aurelius the Christians were not troubled to any great extent. The same condition prevailed during the first years of Septimius Severus' reign. The fact that he had been cured from an illness by a Christian slave named Proculus may have had something to do with the favorable attitude which he maintained in the beginning of his reign. But for some unknown reason he suddenly changed his attitude and enacted a rigid law, which forbade anyone to embrace Christianity or Judaism. This occasioned new and violent persecutions in Egypt and the northern part of Africa, and produced some of the fairest flowers of martyrdom.

Laetus at that time was proconsul of Egypt. He was personally hostile to the Christians and had a systematic search made for them in his province, executing them in the most cruel fashion in Alexandria. Potamiaena, a virgin of rare beauty of body and spirit, was condemned to be exposed to the beastly passions of low characters. But she trusted in God and was spared a treatment worse than death to a pure and chaste woman. She and her mother were ordered burned to death in boiling pitch. One of the executioners, Basilides, filled with sympathy for the victims, embraced Christianity and was beheaded. Leonidas, the father of the famous churchman Origen, was also beheaded in this persecution. ORIGEN later became one of the most distinguished of the Fathers of the early Church. He was born about A. D. 182, probably in Alexandria, and died at Caesarea about A. D. 251 as a result of the severe treatment which he received during the persecution. For a considerable length of time he was the leader of the catechetical school at Alexandria, of which, according to tradition, John Mark is said to have been the founder, Pantaenus and Clement Alexandrinus had been teachers previous to him. This school turned Christianity into a scientific Christian philosophy

in which speculative human wisdom ran riot most of the time. Origen led a rigid ascetic life as teacher. He even carried it to such lengths that he followed literally Matt. 19 : 12 and mutilated his body and became a eunuch. His fame and the number of his pupils increased rapidly, arousing the envy of Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, through whose opposition Origen was finally forced to leave the city, going to Caesarea, where he was very active from about the year 231 onward. He was well read in all the classics and had a wide knowledge of philosophy. He later traveled to Cappadocia and also to Athens. At the latter city he wrote his famous book "Against Cel-sus". He produced a large number of books, of which the above-named with his "On First Principles", "Exhortation to Martyrdom", and the "Hexapla" are perhaps the most famous. His system of theology reminds one strongly of Gnosticism which Irenaeus opposed so strenuously. His was not so much a Scriptural theology as human speculation and for centuries the churches of the Orient fought over these dry bones which Origen bequeathed to posterity in his theology, much to the confusion of the common Christian layman.

In Origen Christianity blended with paganism. When he died he left no pupil who could succeed him nor was the Church of his period able to become his heir, and thus his knowledge was buried. Three centuries later his very name was stricken from the books of the Church; yet in the monasteries of the Greeks his influence lived on, and the spiritual father of Greek monasticism was this same Origen at the mentioning of whose name the monks had shuddered. —

The persecution in the northern parts of Africa was even severer than in Egypt. In the city of Scillita in Numidia twelve persons were brought to trial for being Christians before the proconsul Saturninus, among them especially Speratus, Narzal, and Sittin, and three women, Donata, Secunda, and Vestina. All efforts of the proconsul to persuade them to recant and worship the gods and the emperor were futile. Neither men nor women could be moved to give up their faith in Christ which was founded, as Speratus said, upon the "four Gospels and the epistles of the apostle Paul, and all Scripture given by the inspiration of God". The proconsul even had the verdict written and read to them, and seeing them just as steadfast as ever, he had them led away and executed. They went cheerfully, thanking God that He had counted them worthy to die for His names'ake.

In Carthage a number of catechumens, three young men and two young women, were arrested and tried before Minucius Timinianus: Revocatus, Felicitas, Saturninus, Secundulus, and Vivia Perpetua. They all showed remarkable fortitude and fidelity to their Lord in the dungeon and at the place of execution. Every means was used to make them break down and give up Christianity. Perpetua, a woman of noble birth, underwent a violent struggle in resisting the passionate entreaties of her aged heathen father and the appeal of her helpless babe on her breast. But she remained firm and

sacrificed the deep and tender feelings of a daughter and a mother to the Lord who had died for her. All were condemned to be cast to the wild beasts at the next public festival. On that day a large multitude gathered at the arena to watch the spectacle. The Christians were sent into the arena where some were torn about by the furious beasts, others were only slightly injured. To end the execution they were stabbed to death one by one, while the great audience of heathen shouted its delight. When executing Perpetua the executioner only painfully wounded her at the throat. With a loud scream she grasped the weapon in her hands and guided the blade for the thrust.

This last act of Perpetua leads us to believe that these martyrs probably belonged to the sect of Montanists, of which a certain Montanus was the founder. We know very little of him, but in the early church he attracted considerable attention by his morbid overstraining of the practical morality in the discipline of the church. He urged his followers to court martyrdom and not wait until it came upon them. He carried his demands for severe and rigorous discipline to extremes. More sober teachers of the Church opposed him and emphasized that it was not in accordance with the spirit of Christ's words and the Holy Spirit to court martyrdom.

At this point we may insert a few words regarding a renowned bishop and teacher in the Church by the name of IRENAEUS. Little is known of his early years, but from a passage of one of his writings preserved in Eusebius' History of the Church we learn that he spent his boyhood days in Asia Minor in the city of Smyrna, where he sat at the feet of Polycarp and learned much of Christianity from this old bishop. He also had intercourse with several other disciples of the apostles. Later we find him in Lyons, but what brought him there we do not know. From here he was sent to Rome with a letter by the confessors concerning the Montanist controversy. Immediately after his return he was chosen bishop to succeed Pothinus who had perished in the Gallic persecution. In this capacity he wrote his principal work "*Adversus Haereses*" (Against Heresies). It consists of five books and is preserved in its entirety only in a Latin version. The heretics whom Irenaeus opposed in his work were the Gnostics, who taught that knowledge (Gnosis) rather than faith was the key to salvation. Of his other works only fragments are extant, so that there is very little definite knowledge of his later years. Whether he did any missionary work among the Celtic barbarous tribes in the neighborhood of Lyons and whether, as many later reports have it, he died a martyr in the year 202 can not be ascertained with any great certainty. But his literary work as churchman won for him a lasting place in the history of the Church.

PERSECUTIONS UNDER DECIUS (249—251) AND VALERIANUS (251—260).

A fter Septimius Severus a line of emperors came to the throne who maintained an indifferent attitude toward Christianity. And in this period of peace for the Church falls the greater part of the activities of TERTULLIAN, a renowned and influential teacher throughout the Occident at that time. He was born about A. D. 160 in Carthage, studied law, was converted to Christianity when about thirty years old, and later joined the Montanists. He died about A. D. 220. He was the founder of church Latin and throughout his writings displays a most energetic and forceful character, his language becoming at times tumultuous; but in his views he far exceeded the bounds of the Church's evangelical standpoint. His chief aim was to have the Christians far removed from everything heathen. Christians should not study astrology, take no oath of allegiance, should not frequent the theatre and the amphitheatre, and the like. He considered a second marriage a species of adultery, advocated celibacy and frequent fasting. He urged the Christians to court martyrdom and denounced flight during a period of persecution. His writings display many incorrect, harsh ideas, but there are also many good things to be found in them and they are often quoted.

During this period of repose when the emperors concerned themselves little about Christianity and its existence in the empire, when one of them, Philip the Arabian (244—249), was even favorably disposed to the Christians, the Church gained greatly in numbers, but degenerated in morals and sound practical Christianity; the moral zeal of many Christians cooled and the members became lax. For it is easier to be on guard in the heat of battle than during time of peace. And the mighty persecution which broke out in the following reign served well to restore the purity and rigor of the Church. A thorough purging was indeed necessary, when we read the description of several writers of the Church of that time, how the Church in its members lived in luxury, pastors and bishops neglected their duties and spent their time in earthly pleasures and sought wealth in the four corners of the empire; large numbers attended the divine services on high festivals, but came not so much for instruction as for pastime and to meet friends there; conversations were carried on during the preaching; Christians were permitted to intermarry with heathens; Christian women tried to outdo one another in adopting the latest fashions; charity work was left undone, and church discipline fell into general disuse. But there were yet some in Israel who grieved over this sad condition in the Church and were filled with apprehension for the future.

Their fears were only too well founded. During the reign of Decius a persecution broke out over the Church, which in extent, consistency, and cruelty exceeded all before it. Ambitious to restore the heathen religion to its one-time glory the emperor renewed the persecution against the Christians

interrupted under Septimius Severus. His aim was to entirely exterminate the Christian name. With that purpose in mind he issued an edict to all the governors of the provinces, enjoining return to the state religion under the heaviest penalties. A time was fixed when all who were Christians must appear before the magistrates and offer sacrifice to the gods and the emperor. In the execution of this imperial decree confiscation, exile, tortures, promises, and threats were employed to move the Christians to apostasy. In some places where the authorities looked more for the financial gain and not so much for obedience to the letter of the law, the Christians were offered certificates on payment of a fixed sum, showing that they had complied with the law, although they had not actually offered a sacrifice. Others succeeded in having their names entered upon the lists without payment.

This widespread use of all sorts of questionable methods to be excused from making public confession of their Christianity, shows how few really stood the test of their faith and what was the character of the Christianity which most of them professed. Nevertheless, despite the numerous defections, there were yet large numbers who praised the Lord that they were counted worthy to suffer for His name. Among them were Fabianus of Rome, who as bishop of the congregation was one of the first victims of the persecution; Celerinus, who made a bold confession before the emperor in Rome and was put into stocks and irons for nineteen days; Alexander, bishop in Jerusalem, who had already made a bold confession before the foregoing emperor, now laid down his life for his faith.

This persecution is the first which extended over the whole of the empire, and accordingly produced a far greater number of martyrs than any former persecution. In this period a terrible monster made its appearance in the form of the most exquisite tortures which human brain could devise: the sword, fire, wild beasts, red hot chairs, racks, hooks of iron. The tortures were such that the victims were given no hope whatever that they would die under the sufferings, in order to weaken the tenacious hold which the confessors maintained on their faith.

The death of Decius caused the persecution to cease for a time. Under the successor of Decius, Gallus (251—253), the persecution received a fresh impulse through the public calamities which occurred numerous during his reign and which the people attributed to the wrath of the gods, because their temples and worship were neglected. Under Valerianus the government at first assumed a mild attitude towards the Christians; but in the year 258 Valerianus changed his course and published a new edict, severer even than that of Decius, threatening in particular the leaders of the Church and people of rank who had espoused Christianity with the severest penalties, believing that if these were moved to apostasy the common people would follow their example. Bishops, presbyters, and deacons were ordered executed by the sword. Senators and prominent laymen were threatened with confiscation

of property, and loss of standing, and if they still remained Christians, they were executed. Women of rank were banished, officers of the imperial court were put in chains and sent to work on the imperial estates.

In Egypt the bishop of Alexandria, Dionysius, had a narrow escape from death. He was rescued by his own people from the hands of the persecutors. In Carthage the famous bishop and teacher THASCIUS CYPRIAN fell under the ban of this persecution. Cyprian was born of wealthy pagan parents in Carthage and received a careful education, becoming a teacher of rhetoric. He owed his conversion to Christianity to a presbyter named Caecilius and soon became an ardent believer in the Christian faith. Not long after he was ordained deacon, then presbyter, and two years after his conversion was already chosen bishop by his congregation, which office he accepted only after much hesitation, finally yielding to the stormy demands of the people. No sooner had he begun to perform the duties of his office and had aroused the congregation from its lethargy to active work in the Christian church than the Decian persecution broke out. Cyprian saved himself by flight and remained in seclusion for nearly two years. From this place of refuge he ruled his flock with all earnestness and zeal by means of letters to all the surrounding congregations, many of which have been preserved to this day, besides others of his works. Over against those who interpreted his secret departure as cowardice and infidelity he defended himself ably by rejoining, "Since the crown of martyrdom is received by the grace of God and can not be gained unless the hour for granting it by God has come, so he who, remaining faithful in Christ, withdraws temporarily and abides his time, does not deny his Lord".

Following the death of Decius the persecution had ceased for a time and Cyprian was thereby given opportunity to return to his people and correct various evils which had broken out during his absence. Immediately on his return he called a council of bishops to consider the treatment of the lapsed, i. e., such as had fallen away from the Christian faith during the persecution, — and also a schism which had done much damage among the Christians in the city. Both matters were settled forthwith. During this period a horrible plague and famine had broken out all over the city which put the heathen population in a helpless condition. They were so horrified that they left their dead where they fell. Streets and houses were filled with corpses. Cyprian devoted himself with untiring devotion to the mitigation of this plague and organized his congregation into a relief body to assist him in the situation. And as a result Cyprian rose still higher in the favor of the people when they witnessed his self-denying devotion to the victims of this disaster, in which Christian and heathen were treated alike.

But soon after the second persecution under Valerian reached the shores of North Africa, and Cyprian's days were counted. Being the most prominent Christian in the city he was arrested and brought before the Roman proconsul

Paternus. He refused to sacrifice to the pagan deities and the consul banished him to a desolate place called Curubis, whence he comforted his flock to the best of his ability. A year later he was recalled and a new and severer imperial edict demanded the execution of all clerics. Cyprian was examined and sentenced to death by the sword. His only answer was, "Thanks be to God!" The execution was carried out at once in an open place near the city. A vast multitude followed him on his last journey. He removed his garments without aid, knelt down, and prayed. He ordered 25 gold pieces to be given to the executioner who with trembling hand administered the death-blow. The body was interred by Christian hands near the place of execution. Cyprian's personality has been better appreciated by later generations than by his immediate contemporaries. His earnest life, his self-denial and fidelity, and the ever-present consciousness of the dignity of his office, his moderation and greatness of soul and loftiness of thought have been increasingly acknowledged and admired. —

This persecution under Valerian stretched its fangs into Rome itself and raged with all its wanton fury against the Christians here also. Among the martyrs in the capital we may mention the deacon Laurentius, who pointed the avaricious magistrate of Rome to the poor of the congregation as the richest treasure of the Church. He was slowly roasted to death. — In Smyrna the Christians had to witness the sad spectacle of their bishop Endaemon denying Jesus Christ and throwing incense upon heathen altars, while others who had been but shortly converted to Christianity remained firm in their faith and suffered martyrdom.

Yet despite all the fury of the heathen populace, despite all the murderous edicts which emperors decreed, despite all the defections of nominal Christians, the Church of Christ prevailed and grew in the very face of the enemy!

THE LAST PERSECUTIONS UNDER DIOCLETIAN AND GALERIUS.

The Christians as yet were very much in the minority in the empire. The commonly accepted estimate is that in the East the Christians numbered about one twelfth of the population and in the West about one fifteenth. But there were two features which made this minority of great importance. In the first place, not a single other cultus of the much divided heathen world had as many adherents as the God of the Christians. In contrast to the loose, disconnected body of heathenism the Christians were a closely united body. Then, too, the Christians lived for the most part in the cities, where they were in constant touch with one another; whereas the population of the surrounding country was largely heathen. The congregation in Antioch, for instance, numbered about 5,000 souls. — The main reason, however, for its strength in its minority was the fact that Christianity had already become

the ruling spirit in the empire. The heathen could impossibly escape being impressed by the fact that the life led by the Christians was entirely different from that of every other class of religious people in the empire. The preaching of the one true God had dealt a deadly blow to their belief in their own gods. And it was impossible to instill new life into the dry bones of the heathen state religion, which Diocletian had set out to do, unless this influence which Christianity exerted upon the moral, social, and political life of the empire was counteracted and made void.

Diocletian does not seem to have realized this in the first years of his reign, for he not only permitted Christians to enter the army, but most of his court officers, besides many of the most prominent functionaries, were Christians. But the heathen party at his court realized the situation fully and knew only too well that the struggle was on between Christianity and heathenism for supremacy. They knew that Christianity already was the controlling force in the empire and that it was exerting a powerful influence upon the minds of the people. The heathen party, therefore, worked day and night at the court in their endeavor to annihilate Christianity, this evil force in the empire, as they regarded it. Galerius, a co-regent and a fanatic supporter of the state religion, was enthusiastically in favor of persecuting the Christians. But Diocletian was not ignorant of the situation as it had been left him by his predecessor on the throne. He opposed the use of force against the Christians on the ground that the suppression of Christianity had already been attempted often enough without success, and much blood had been shed in the futile attempt. Nothing could be gained now either and the empire would only be precipitated into a period of unrest and confusion.

Galerius nevertheless succeeded in persuading Diocletian to issue an order that all Christians must leave the army. As a result men of rank as well as the common soldier resigned from military service rather than deny Christ. Here and there they were court-martialed and sentenced to death. The first step was made.

For a long time after that Diocletian resisted all efforts to go further. Had he been left to his own inclinations, he would not have become a persecutor of the Church. But the heathen party urged him on incessantly. Diocletian was growing feeble and his strength was failing perceptibly; he was aging rapidly. A certain amount of irresolution became noticeable in his opinions and actions. And the heathen party realizing this as its opportunity to put its plans into effect, succeeded in forcing the emperor into a position, where he unwittingly did what he had protested against so long. Further steps against the Christians were decided upon, but he insisted on the one condition that no blood should be shed. Galerius soothingly assured him that such a thing was entirely out of the question and not necessary. The heathen party had succeeded! All that they had desired was that the emperor take the initial steps for the suppression of Christianity, he would then be com-

pelled to go further, whether he wanted to or not. The obstinate stand of the Christians would attend to that. This was the beginning of the last and bloodiest persecution of the Christians on record.

The persecution began on the twenty-third day of February, 303, the feast of the "Terminalia", with the destruction of the large church in Nicomedia. And on one of the standing walls an edict was posted that all Christian churches were to be demolished and the sacred books of the Christians burned. The Christians were forbidden to hold meetings of any kind and if prominent people among them refused to give up their religion, they would be reduced in rank and deprived of their civil rights. The object of all this was to cut Christianity off from its source, and the above action was within the condition which the emperor had set, that no blood was to be shed. But matters soon took on a different aspect. Twice fire broke out in the imperial palace. Who were the incendiaries? The Christians! The leaders of the heathen party soon had the emperor worked into a fit of anger, and once in that state of mind, they had but to fan the flame to accomplish their end.

The emperor blinded in his rage soon lost sight of his own condition that no blood was to be shed. Three edicts followed in rapid succession, each more severe than its predecessor. The persecution by this time was raging full blast throughout the empire, and was second to none of those instituted in previous reigns, not even to that under Decius. Rivers of blood flowed over the whole of the empire and a cry went up from the Christians which was terrible. In some places ten, twenty, even a hundred Christians were slain in a day. Whole congregations were trapped in their churches and burned to death unmercifully. In Phrygia a whole city was surrounded by soldiers and set on fire. Christians were crucified, thrown to wild beasts, burned to death, roasted limb for limb. Barbarity and gross savagery in their most horrible forms trailed over the empire, leaving in their tracks smoking ruins of once peaceful homes and mutilated human beings screaming in agony and wallowing in their own blood.

Gradually Diocletian began to realize what he had done. He had let his temper get the better of him and the enormity of the result came home to him with a staggering blow. He had not intended such bloodshed, which he now witnessed on all sides, and he gladly would have recalled his edicts, but it was now too late. The persecution was in full operation for a year and a half, until he in the year 304 issued an edict, proclaiming a cessation of this wholesale slaughter. But this edict was only half-hearted; Galerius was the evil spirit who now controlled his hand. Galerius was now the real power in the government of the empire. In the year 305 Diocletian retired to private life in Salona, where he hoped to pass his last days in peace and quiet. But one by one he witnessed the downfall of his plans for a unification of the empire, and when even an attempt on his life was made, he committed suicide.

Galerius in ascending to the throne as successor to Diocletian, elected unto

himself several co-regents who were ardent supporters of his policy against the Christians and the persecution which had almost ceased during the last months of Diocletian's reign, now broke out anew. In the year 308 peace once more prevailed throughout the empire, during which time Galerius made every effort, one might say frantic efforts, to have the heathen temples rebuilt and the ancient worship of the fathers restored.

The flames of the great conflagration broke out once more in the year 310. But gradually this last great conflagration died down and burned out for lack of further fuel. Heathenism had exhausted itself against the enormous patience of the Christians. The fury of fanaticism had proved futile. Heathendom, exhausted, rested on its cruel, bloody weapons. Galerius himself, victim of a terrible disease, the fruits of his profligate life, from his death-bed issued a last edict, remarkable for its wording, in that it called upon the Christians to pray to their God for the government and the emperor. With that the persecution was ended. The edict was really a confession on the part of heathendom that it had been vanquished in the conflict of centuries for supremacy. And though the edict did not as yet mean a complete victory for Christianity, nevertheless Constantine, later the Great, was already on his way from the West, and with him Christianity ascended the throne of the Caesars under the banner of the once despised, now honored and triumphant cross, and gave new vigor and lustre to the hoary empire of Rome.

A LITERARY WAR WAGED AGAINST CHRISTIANITY.

The preaching of the cross is unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness. It is, therefore, not at all extraordinary that representatives of secular literature should attack Christianity. And especially prominent among those who attacked Christianity in the first three centuries was the Greek philosopher Celsus. He wrote an extended work entitled "A True Discourse", which the heathen world at that time considered irrefutable. The work is not extant in complete form, but Origen in his Refutation has faithfully preserved considerable fragments of it.

Celsus employed all the aids which the culture of his age afforded, all the weapons of learning, wit, sarcasm, and dramatic effect. He first attacked Christianity from the standpoint of the Jew. Then he assaulted both; however, of the two Christianity got decidedly the worst of it. Judaism was at least a national religion, but Christianity was nothing but a defection from Judaism, a revolt and rebellion against all standards of morality and conventionality. Judaism and Christianity do not deserve a better lot than to be expelled from the confines of every civilized nation.

Celsus' hatred against the person of the Lord is especially marked. Jesus is to him nothing but a swindler and a fraud. Born of a poor peasant woman

who lived in adultery with a soldier named Panthera, he learned the art of magic in Egypt, and by this means attracted men of the lower classes to him in large numbers, publicans and fishermen. The denial of Peter and the treachery of Judas and his ultimate downfall contradict his pretended divinity. This "outcast" and "braggart" did not perform any very great acts, and his accomplishments in magic were really of an inferior quality. His life was filled with evil and wickedness (but Celsus fails to mention any such wicked acts). The Gospels are nothing but a pack of lies fabricated partly by Jesus himself, partly by his deluded followers.

Christianity claims that Jesus foretold his suffering and even the denial by Peter and the betrayal. But, says Celsus, the very fact that these events took place exactly as he foretold them is proof that they could not have been prophesied. For how could they who heard Jesus speak these prophecies later do those acts under such circumstances? If he prophesied these things as God, then the actors in these events must have been enticed by God to do evil. Then, too, if these events were inevitable and Jesus must render obedience to the will of the Father, how foolish for him then to go to the garden of Gethsemane and pray for help and lament his fate! He knew that would not change matters in the least. It may be true that he told his disciples that he would rise from the dead, but others have had like hallucinations. Myths and legends relate many similar occurrences of resurrections. But they are myths and as such we do not believe them. Or do you Christians want to tell us that your story of this man Jesus is more credible than other myths? his cry from the cross when he gave up the ghost, the earthquake, the darkness? that he was life itself and yet could not help himself? that he was dead and rose again, showing the marks of his punishment on his hands and feet? Who saw it?! A half-crazed woman, perhaps others of the same band of deceivers, deluded by the fantastic dreams and visions of this Jesus. If Jesus really rose from the dead, why did he not show himself to his judges, in fact to all the people? Celsus thinks it rather peculiar that during his lifetime he preached to all people and received little or no credence. But when he had risen from the dead and at a time when he could easily have made all believe in him, he appears to a woman only, to his companions, and at that in secret.

Any reader of Renan's "Life of Jesus" will immediately discover a remarkable similarity between the arguments of Celsus and Renan, and that Celsus anticipates most of the sophisms and theories of our own age, which are being offered to the reading public as the "infallible conclusions of modern science". Mary Magdalene is Renan's "femme hallucinée".

Celsus correctly asserts that the sum and substance of the Christian religion is that God came down from heaven to earth to redeem mankind. But Celsus holds a belief in such an idea absurd and preposterous. He asks, if God came down to earth, what other interpretation could be put on such a step than that

he came to earth to learn the ways of men? But you Christians say that he is omniscient! How does that harmonize? Then, too, he knows all these conditions on earth and yet does not correct them! It is impossible for him to correct them by virtue of his divine power, therefore he must send some one to this earth to perform the task for him in a human body. And if he came to the earth, then he must have left his throne in heaven vacant, and the whole result of his coming would be a revolution and destruction of all things, because everything in the universe was arranged just so, one thing depending on another, and if one gave way and disturbed the arrangement, then everything would topple down, which is equivalent to general destruction.

Christians believe in the absurd idea that the world was made for man and that God is especially interested in man above all other creatures. Such an idea is most ridiculous to Celsus. Natural history in describing the aptitude of many animals proves that the world was made not so much for man's sake, but for the animals. Animals, says Celsus, in many things are superior to man and man is subject to them. Bees also have rulers and found cities. Ants lay up store for the winter and bury their dead. Birds read the future and interpret it by their flight. Yea, not even piety is an exclusive virtue of man. And what creature is more loyal than the elephant? What bird or creature more pious than the stork?

Celsus here speaks in exactly the same strain as the notorious David Friedrich Strauss in his book, "The Old and the New Faith". According to him the world serves no purpose at all. It was not made for man, nor for the lion or the delphin or the eagle. God troubles himself no more about men than about monkeys or flies. The world is always the same. The "wicked" will not be more numerous than now or have been in the past or will be in the future, for it is the nature of this world always to remain the same and never to change.

The great display of knowledge and wisdom of innumerable unbelievers of our present day is nothing but a repetition of that wisdom and knowledge which a heathen Celsus offered to the world of his time centuries ago. From this refuse heap, bequeathed the world by heathendom, very many modern theologians select the "best ingredients" and embody them in their systems and theories in theology and philosophy.





Constantine Addressing His Soldiers concerning the Promise of Victory in the Sign of the Cross.

(After the Painting by Giulio Romano in the Vatican.)

FROM CONSTANTINE THE GREAT TO JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

* *

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

Seldom has a man aroused such a wide difference of opinion as Constantine the Great. In forming an opinion of his position in history, it is necessary to avoid two false conclusions which have often been made respecting him. In the first place, from the fact that he raised the Christian religion from a humble, persecuted, and despised position to one of honor and predominance, the conclusion does not necessarily follow that Constantine therefore must have been an especially gifted, zealous, and active Christian. And the disappointment which results when comparing this conclusion with the actual relation of Constantine to Christianity, has caused many to disparage the great achievement of Constantine. When he took the first steps to make the Christian religion the State religion, his relation to Christianity was as yet purely external, more superstition than faith. And it was only when far advanced in years that he fully realized the overwhelming force of the truth of Christianity. In the second place, the fact that a man's conduct is not always consistent with his profession does not yet provoke the conclusion that he was a hypocrite. The alternative: either he was a true Christian or none at all, in which latter case he was a liar and a hypocrite; either Constantine acted from purely Christian motives or for political reasons only, in which latter case his profession of Christianity was nothing but a sham, — is not conclusive. Constantine was no saint; and those who for that reason make him out a conscious, wilful hypocrite forget that Constantine was human. No man is perfect, and there are many diversified motives and thoughts in the human heart. Even such dark spots in his life as murder, which



Emperor Constantine and His Wife Fausta.
(From a relief.)

can not be wiped out by palliating excuses, even they do not yet prove that his Christianity was a sham. We must do justice to the great achievements of Constantine whether he was a Christian during his lifetime or not.

On Diocletian's death Galerius became the dominant power in the empire and selected as co-regents Severus and Maximus Daza, two supporters of his antichristian policy. In making this selection he had ignored two others who were entitled to first consideration, having been regents with Galerius in Diocletian's time, viz., Constantius Chlorus and Maxentius. Constantius, the father of Constantine, when elevated to the rank of Caesar in 293, was given the Gallic, Spanish, and British provinces; Maxentius ruled over Italy and Africa. At his father's death the army in Britain proclaimed young Constantine as Augustus. Maxentius, however, coveted this dignity and planned to get Constantine's portion of the empire by force of arms. But Constantine anticipated Maxentius' move against him by suddenly crossing the Alps and appearing on Italian soil before his opponent had yet converted his inimical intentions into actions. Constantine's move was a most daring maneuver. His army numbered but 40,000 men, whereas Maxentius had about three times that number at his disposal. The men of Constantine's army when they realized the situation began to voice their dissent and called his undertaking reckless and precipitate. Constantine knew only too well what was at stake and we can readily understand his looking for some superior aid in this hazardous situation.

He himself relates that he on that occasion deliberated a long time to which god he should appeal for aid, and that he had asked the highest god whom his father had worshiped, the Sun-god, to manifest himself. Soon after he saw a wonderful sign in the sky. As the sun was setting in the West he beheld a shining cross in the clouds above the sun and alongside it the words *τοῦτο νικᾷ* (through this sign conquer!). And that night Christ appeared to him in a dream, commanding him to put the sign of the cross upon his banners and on the soldiers' arms and shields and go into battle assured of victory. Constantine ordered a banner made with the sign of the cross and the word Christ upon it. He had a cross put upon his helmet and his soldiers marked it upon their shields. Under this sign of the cross his army marched from victory to victory, pushing on towards Rome. And in a bold assault Constantine overpowered Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge in 312, marching into Rome amid the rejoicing shouts of the populace while the senate reared a triumphal arch in his honor, which is still standing today. Constantine had a statue of himself erected in a public square of the city, a cross in his hand and with an inscription in praise of the victory achieved by the aid of "this salutary token". After a few more campaigns he in a short time became the sole ruler in the West.

Whether this narrative of Constantine's conversion to Christianity by means of a miraculous sign is historical fact or not, has long been the subject of much

discussion among historians. The story in its most complete form is found in Eusebius, who claims to have received it from Constantine personally. The emperor related this occurrence to him when a very old man and guaranteed the truth of it by an oath. To reject it as spurious means to pronounce either Eusebius or Constantine a wilful liar. To men of Constantine's age and earlier miracles were not considered impossible or out of the ordinary; in fact, many times only that which was accompanied by marvelous events was looked upon as trustworthy. To us unusual accompaniments tend to disprove truth, and our age usually approaches narratives like the one under hand with the prejudicial mind that miracles are not possible and therefore the above narrative of Constantine must be fiction. It is true, as soon as we get beyond the limits of the New Testament we must be very cautious when we read of miracles. But we surely can not and will not deny the possibility that the Lord, especially at decisive turning-points in the history of His kingdom, can accompany events by marvelous occurrences.

Aside from the fact that it is incomprehensible that Constantine should have promulgated a lie at his great age when he could hardly have expected to derive any benefits from such a spurious story or that Eusebius during the lifetime of the emperor should have ascribed a fictitious narrative to Constantine, — aside from that we have other reasons for not relegating Constantine's miraculous sign to the realm of fiction.

It is an historically established fact that Constantine's attitude to Christianity underwent a sudden change between the years 312 and 313 during the campaign in Italy. At the beginning of the year 312 he maintained an indifferent and reserved attitude to Christianity. He not only took part in the issuing of the edict of Galerius, but he himself had also issued mandates which were far removed from any spirit of religious freedom and were especially marked in making the confession of Christianity as difficult as possible. But now mark the different attitude of Constantine at the beginning of the year 313, when he published the edict of Milan wherein he takes the first step to elevate the Christian religion to the position of State religion. In the edict of Milan he gives as reason for granting to Christians the free exercise of their religion the great grace and favor which he had experienced at the hand of God. And this favor of God is always connected with the sign of the cross. In the campaign against Maxentius the cross played a prominent part in all his victories and his ultimate triumph. From that time on all heathen emblems disappear from the ensign of the emperor and are displaced by the cross. On helmets, shields, even on coins in large numbers we meet with the cross and the two sacred letters XP, the first two letters in Greek for the name of Christ. Add to that the fact that Constantine had a statue of himself erected in a public square of Rome with a cross in his hand, through which sign he expressly states to have won all his victories in Italy, and all doubt regarding the miraculous turning of Constantine to Christianity resolve into thin

air. Something must have taken place to move Constantine to put the sign of the cross on his ensign. We can admit that Eusebius somewhat exaggerated the narrative and embellished it. But to say that the whole story is spurious and fictitious, disagrees absolutely with the established facts and is impossible.

On June 13, 313, the famous edict of Milan was published in the city of Nicomedia where ten years before the last horrible edict of persecution



Triumphal Arch Erected in Honor of Constantine at Rome.
(From a photograph.)

had been issued. This edict by Constantine marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the Church and the world, wherein every man was given the right to believe the religion which he considered best. This is the first time that the great principle of religious liberty, according to which every man is permitted to exercise any religion of his choice, in accordance with the dictates of his conscience, and must not be forced by the powers that be to accept any prescribed forms of religion, was publicly proclaimed by the imperial government. Christianity had attained the goal for which it had fought and bled so long.



THE FIRST ECUMENICAL OR GENERAL COUNCIL OF NICAEA.

A. D. 325.

* *

The first council ever held in the Christian Church was the apostolic council at Jerusalem, Acts 15, when the question of circumcision and other disputed points were settled. Since that time many meetings of like character had been held towards the end of the second and in the third century in Palestine, Ephesus, Pontus, and Gaul, when the bishops gathered to settle the various disputes which arose in the Church. And with the spreading of Christianity over almost the whole of the empire occasions for such councils became increasingly more desirable, in order to maintain the unity of the Spirit.

The first general or ecumenical council was held in 325 at Nicaea of Bithynia. The chief reason for convoking this council was the false doctrine of Arius of Alexandria in Egypt concerning the person of Jesus Christ, and the settling of other controverted points of doctrine or practice, such as the proper date of celebrating Easter. Constantine had at first considered the Arian controversy to be of a trivial nature. But when enlightened on the subject by the Spanish bishop Hosius of Cordova, he personally convoked the council to meet at Nicaea.

From all the churches in Europe, Asia, and Africa came "the firstfruits of the servants of God", as Eusebius writes. The bishop of Rome was unable to attend by reason of his great age, but he was represented by two presbyters.

The council was opened on the 20th of May in the main hall of the imperial palace by the emperor himself. Eusebius of Caesarea addressed him, to which he replied by an address of welcome, expressing his great desire for a unified body of bishops. The council then went over to the subjects under discussion. The emperor personally took an active part in all the proceedings.

President of the council during most of the sessions was Hosius of Cordova, Spain. It should be stated with particular emphasis that no one ever thought of conferring the honor of the presidency upon one of the representatives of the Roman bishop. But according to modern papal opinion that ought to have been done, in order to emphasize that the Roman bishop at that time already was the leader of the Church universal and that all the other bishops were his vassals. And since it is impossible to establish that fact from the

sources extant, the professional forgers of church history, the Jesuits, are beginning in modern times to claim that Hosius was really the representative of the Roman bishop at this council! The first attempt along this line was recently made by the Jesuit C. A. Kneller. Other papal "historians" will no doubt follow this lead and in a short time we shall find all new editions of Roman manuals, outlines, compendiums, and sketches on church history taking up this bold forgery and gradually it will become an "historically" established fact, at least for those who import their faith from Rome.

Constantine, counseled by Hosius, urged the formulating of a creed embodying the point of Christ's person to settle the Arian controversy: Christ is "of one substance with the Father", *ὁμοούσιος*, which is the incontrovertible teaching of Scripture, though not expressed in those words. We can not follow out all the discussion of this great controversy, in which Athanasius, then a young presbyter, took a most active and prominent part; but we shall cite the "Nicæan Creed", which is but an elaboration of the Apostles' Creed:

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible.

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, begotten of the Father, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father (*ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ*), by whom all things were made; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down and was incarnate, and was made man; he suffered, and the third day he rose again, and ascended into heaven; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"And in the Holy Ghost.

"And those who say there was a time when he (the Son) was not; and he was made out of nothing, or out of another substance or thing, or that the Son of God is created, or changeable, or alterable; — they are condemned by the holy catholic and apostolic Church".

In this last condemnatory phrase the council took a definite stand against the Arian heresy, which had caused so much disturbance in the Church. And the reason for the striking brevity of the third article of the creed lies in the fact that as yet there had been no controversy regarding the person of the Holy Ghost. In the following council, in the year 381, this article was also elaborated. For the present it was, therefore, quite sufficient to simply confess: I believe in the Holy Ghost.

At this council the controversy regarding the celebration of Easter was also settled. In the Orient this festival had been observed in commemoration of the death of Christ, while the Occidental churches at this festival celebrated the resurrection of the Lord. This caused constant friction between the various sections of the Church, but especially the fixing of a certain calendar date of the festival, which caused great confusion on all sides. After a discussion of the subject the council finally decided that it was more beneficial to have all

churches celebrate Easter on the same day, namely, on Sunday. The church at Alexandria was commissioned to compute the date for the Easter festival every year and inform all the other churches of the date and of the time of all other festivals dependent on Easter. In practice this gradually developed into the following custom: After the forty days of Lent or fasting, the Easter season was divided into two weeks of celebration: from Palm Sunday till the Saturday before Easter (*πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, Passah of the Cross), and from Easter Sunday till the Sunday after Easter, called Whitsunday or "white Sunday" (*πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*, Passah of the Resurrection).

Besides the above a number of other resolutions were passed of varying importance, partly regarding church organization, partly pertaining to church customs, partly to church discipline. These last resolutions of this council show how far the Church had drifted away from the sound doctrine and the simple form of organization of the Apostolic Church. The whole hierarchical arrangement as we find it in the papal church of today, with the exception of a few minor orders, is already in existence and passes review at this council. Deacons, presbyters, bishops, archbishops, and metropolitans form an imposing structure, arranged according to the political divisions of the empire, headed by the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome. Nowhere do we find, it is true, that these dignitaries claimed to hold office by divine right and therefore had greater authority than others, but the ancient custom (*antiqua consuetudo*) soon imparted to them this distinction and the following councils established it. And with this development the overreaching claims of the bishop of Rome that he was the leader of the Church became more and more insistent until, pressing his claim with audacious pertinacity, he finally, in the Middle Ages, the distinction of being the supreme attained ruler, not only in the Church, but also in the State.

We Lutheran Christians, however, as much as we rejoice that this council confessed the correct Scriptural doctrine of the eternal power and divinity of Jesus Christ, nevertheless uphold the words of Luther: Councils can err. And in the history of the Church during the following centuries, without citing in detail all the councils that were held thereafter, we shall find abundant evidence to prove the correctness of the statement of Luther at the Diet of Worms in 1521: "They have erred frequently and have contradicted one another".



ATHANASIUS.

* *

Athanasius, called by the ancient Church the Champion of Orthodoxy, was no doubt the most prominent man in this period of the Church when the Arian heresy created so much confusion and disturbance among the Christians, and it was due to his untiring efforts that God's Word was upheld as the only standard and authority.

He was born about the year 296 in Alexandria, Egypt. As a young man he studied Greek classical literature and was well read in the Scriptures and the early church fathers. The bishop of Alexandria took an interest in the lad and ordained him deacon as early as 319 and made him his amanuensis. At about the same time another gifted young man by the name of Arius came to Alexandria and there became presbyter. The bishop of Alexandria, however, took exception to his views concerning the eternal deity of Christ and His equality with the Father, and was finally compelled to excommunicate him. Thus began the great Arian controversy, for the settlement of which Constantine the Great had convoked the council at Nicaea.

The Arian teaching was the following: The Father alone is God; neither the Son nor the Holy Ghost are God. The Son of God is a creature, the most perfect, but withal a creature; he is preexistent, before all other creatures, but he is not eternal, not without beginning as the Father. One may and can call him the Son of God, because he always does the Father's will. As man he, like Adam, had a free will subject to changes, but by following the will of God uninterruptedly his will became unchangeably good, and because of this God honored him by elevating him to the Sonship of God and endowing him with divine power and glory.

Arius and his followers were excommunicated at Alexandria. Arius took refuge with Eusebius of Nicomedia, a great favorite at the imperial court, through whom Arius gained more friends and supporters among bishops and clerics in Asia and Africa. Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, defended himself against the insinuations of Arius by sending a circular letter to all the bishops warning them against this Arian heresy. And in a short time the whole Eastern Church was involved in a most distressing controversy. The attention of Constantine was called to the controversy, who after vain efforts

at reconciliation between the parties convoked the famous first ecumenical council at Nicaea in the year 325.

Undoubtedly the most prominent figure at this council was Athanasius, the youthful deacon and amanuensis of the bishop of Alexandria, whom he had taken with him to the council. Athanasius' efforts went a great way to bring a large number of the bishops back to the Scriptural stand in the controversy, which resulted in the forming of the Nicæan Creed which the Arian party refused to sign. Constantine not only assented to the formulating of this creed, but also banished Arius and his followers when they refused to sign it and ordered the heretical books burned and branded Arius and his followers as enemies of Christianity. This is the first example of civil punishment of heresy and opened the long and dark era of persecution for all departures from the orthodox or catholic faith.

If Athanasius after this victory over the Arian heresy had now placed his trust and confidence in Constantine as the patron of true Christianity he would have been disappointed; for not soon after friends of Arius gained the favor of the emperor and the question was reopened. The Arians were filled with bitter hatred against the young deacon who had vanquished them.



Bishop Athanasius.

And when in the year 326 Athanasius was elected bishop of Alexandria to succeed Alexander who had died, he entered upon the most eventful career of his life which from now on was a bitter fight with the Arian faction to the last. He was bishop of Alexandria forty-six years, until 373, and fully twenty years of this time were spent in five different exiles, into which the machinations of the Arian party drove him. During his first exile, when he was banished to Gaul by the emperor from 336 to 338, occurred the sudden death of the heretic Arius in 336 and Constantine died a year later. During his second exile he took refuge with the bishop of Rome from 341 to 348, during which period the leader and most bitter enemy of Athanasius, Eusebius of Nicomedia, died, in 341. It was during this sojourn in Rome with bishop Julius that Athanasius brought the fateful spirit of monasticism from Africa to Rome along with the true teaching of the Trinity and the person of Christ.

This seed of monasticism which he sowed in Rome brought forth abundant fruit in the West, although it was long after his death that it really took root and flourished. In his third exile he had to take refuge among the monks and hermits of the desert on the southernmost boundaries of Egypt from 356 to 361. When Julian the Apostate came to the throne he permitted all the bishops in exile to return to their sees. But Athanasius who had also returned was ordered to return to exile immediately on his return to the city of Alexandria, because the emperor and his advisors considered Athanasius too dangerous a man for their plans of repaganizing the whole of the empire. This was his fourth exile, lasting from 361 till 363, when Julian died. During the eight months' reign of Jovian, who was a devout Christian, Athanasius again lived in Alexandria. But under the reign of the following emperor who sympathized with Arianism, he was compelled to return to exile which, however, lasted but four months. Valens found the discontent of the people in so important a place as Alexandria dangerous and made a special exception in favor of Athanasius who was able to return to his see in 366. The last seven years of his episcopate were undisturbed.

Athanasius was a man of one idea and one passion, — the eternal divinity of Christ, which he considered the corner-stone of the Christian religion. And throughout his entire career he remained firm in his conviction, his influence being felt far and wide. He well merits the title of Champion of Orthodoxy. Through evil report and good report, through the many changes of a long and eventful career, he indisputably maintained his title to the respect which we give to love of truth and honesty.



JULIAN THE APOSTATE.



Before Constantine the Great died, he divided the empire among his three sons, with whom he coordinated his nephew Delmatius, in the year 335, in order to complete the fourfold arrangement which had been established by Diocletian. The sons, however, secured complete control of the empire when Delmatius together with nearly all the other male relations of the imperial house was murdered. Julian and his step-brother Gallus had been spared because of their tender age. Constantine II. died in 340 and Constans in 350, leaving Constantius sole ruler of the empire. All three sons had attempted to suppress paganism by force, but had not been successful. Paganism possessed a greater amount of vitality than the emperors supposed. But this resistance was not of equal strength in all parts of the empire. In the Orient Christianity had a great and strong hold on the masses and there was no aristocracy here of any account to uphold the old traditions. In the Occident, however, the situation was different. Here the Roman aristocracy upheld the ancient Roman religion and the great mass of the people, as of yore, followed the lead of the patricians. Famous schools at Miletus, Ephesus, and Athens were attended by large numbers who studied the Greek classics and listened to the lectures of the great philosophical leaders of these schools like Libanius, who inculcated into the minds of the youths of the empire the spirit of antiquity and great devotion to classics, at the same time producing a contempt for a "barbarous" Christianity with its endless controversies over dogmas. For them Neoplatonism embodied the wealth of the highest ideals of antiquity and of Greek civilization which was considered far superior to and much more refined than the Christian religion. This reactionary spirit found a leader in Julian, in whom paganism again ascended to the throne of the Caesars and made its last great attempt to stay the triumphant march of Christianity, only to prove conclusively that the power of paganism had been broken for all time.

Flavius Claudius Julianus was a nephew of Constantine the Great. Following the death of his mother Julian lost nearly all the relatives of his family through the bloody feuds which after Constantine's death disrupted the entire imperial house. Julian at the age of fourteen proved himself a remarkably gifted lad and for that reason was removed from Constantinople by

the suspicious Constantius, confined in a fortress in Cappadocia under heavy guard, and surrounded by Christian clerics. Nothing could be more detrimental to the character of the youth than to grow up under the weight of suspicion. And it can be truthfully said that this environment made him a systematic dissembler. Julian never learned to know the true nature of Christianity. And this compulsory religious training resulted in his hating the religion whose representatives had murdered the members of his family and whose priests were his prison wardens. But his outward demeanor never betrayed any of this inward contempt which he felt for the Christian religion. He attained the position of reader in the Church and had a reputation for great piety.

Nevertheless, though he was solicitously guarded against every contact with paganism, he did have intercourse with pagan teachers in secret. And when Constantius permitted him to return to Nicomedia to devote himself to the study of rhetoric and philosophy, after promising not to listen to the lectures of Libanius, the most prominent representative of the pagan philosophical school, Julian read his books instead and kept up a lively correspondence with the leaders of these philosophical circles, who introduced him to the Neoplatonic philosophy and mysticism of the day, to which he became ardently devoted. At Athens he formally, but secretly, became a convert to paganism. Suddenly Julian was called away from his classical studies and thrust into the thick of practical life.

Constantius, under pressure from various sources, elevated Julian to the rank of Caesar and gave him command of the Gallic army to check the inroads of the Germanic tribes, while Constantius himself undertook to protect the Eastern borders against the Persians. During the four years of successful military campaigning Julian had won the respect and confidence of his whole army. In order to check Julian's increasing popularity Constantius recalled the best legions of the Gallic army, giving as reason that they were needed in the Eastern campaign. The legions answered by hailing Julian as Augustus. Julian notified the emperor of what had happened, without assuming the imperial title. And when the emperor replied with the sword, Julian accepted the imperial crown and led his army to meet Constantius. This occurred in 360. While on his forced marches south Julian heard of the emperor's death, whereupon he threw off his Christian mask and entered Constantinople as undisputed pagan emperor. Paganism was again on the throne of the Caesars.

The restoration of paganism to its one-time glory now became the avowed policy of the imperial government. On his arrival in Constantinople Julian issued an edict granting the free exercise of all religions, but let it be known that he preferred the pagan religion. Gradually all the privileges of the Christian clergy were withdrawn and the funds of the State were now exclusively applied to the restoration of pagan temples and forms of worship. In the army

the cross was supplanted by pagan emblems, the pretorian guard was purged of Christians, and Christian officials were removed from office. Yet with all his efforts to restore paganism, even going so far as to imitate various forms of the Christian cult, his policy achieved no appreciable results. Julian himself, surrounded by pagan courtiers exclusively, could not escape the impression that he stood isolated and that the sentiment of the larger portion of the people was hostile to him.

When in 326 he went to Antioch to make preparations for his great Eastern campaign against the Persians, he found everywhere a neglect of pagan temples and worship and the sacred places falling to ruins. He upbraided the population and had the temple of Apollo restored in all splendor, but the people received him with open scorn and ominous demonstrations occurred frequently which increased the emperor's misgivings.

But when he set out upon his campaign the spirit of the commander again awoke in him and the misgivings disappeared. But his campaign turned out to be a great disappointment, for the enemy was nowhere to be seen. His soldiers became disheartened and he was compelled to order retreat. The enemy had been awaiting this moment and now appeared and harassed the discouraged and tired army. In one of the skirmishes which occurred during this retreat Julian, having rushed into the fray without his armor against the advice of his men, was mortally wounded by an arrow and died a few hours after on the 26th of June, 363.

The exclamation which he uttered when wounded is reported differently by writers of his time. Some say he exclaimed: "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean"; others: "Sun" (the god which Julian worshiped), "thou hast deceived me!" Whatever the exclamation may have been, it undoubtedly was one of great disappointment.

The death of Julian, "the Romanticist upon the throne of the Caesars", as D. Fr. Strauss calls him, marks the close of the pagan influence in the empire. He was "the belated son of a great bygone age, deceived in his ideals, but noble in nature". A. Harnack.



FOUR TEACHERS OF THE CHURCH.

* *

I. AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN.

In the artistic tradition of the Roman Catholic Church we often notice representations of four men, "saints", who for centuries have been called the four great doctors of the Church (*quattuor doctores ecclesiastici*) or frequently the ancient teachers (*doctores antiqui*), to distinguish them from later scholastics. They are Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory, who throughout the Middle Ages were looked upon as authorities on many great questions.

The place and date of Ambrose's birth can not be fixed definitely. He was born of a rich and noble Roman family, his father being consular prefect in Gaul. Whether the elder Ambrose resided in Arles or Lyons or Treves is not certain; but in one of these cities about the year 333 Ambrose was born. He had a sister Marcellina and a brother Satyrus, both older than himself. He was not baptized as a child. When the father died the mother returned to Rome with the children, where the home came under Christian influence through association with bishop Julius, with whom Athanasius at that time had taken refuge. Ambrose was educated for the bar and was trained by pagan teachers. About 370 he was appointed consular prefect for Upper Italy and took up his residence in Milan. A few years later a fierce contest arose in the city between the Arian and the orthodox parties over the election of a bishop to succeed Auxentius. Ambrose, as the first magistrate of the city, repaired to the church to maintain order and was himself by unanimous vote elected to the episcopate. He was as yet only a catechumen, but he was immediately baptized and eight days later consecrated bishop in the year 374.

Ambrose opposed paganism no less zealously than heresy. He was a great preacher, though it was not customary for bishops to preach a great deal. His writings are mostly based upon Origen and Basil. His exegetical writings are marred by the allegorical method. His work "*De officiis ministrorum*" is modeled after Cicero. He successfully opposed the efforts of the Arian empress Justina to establish Arian worship in Milan, by refusing to deliver up a basilica to the Arian party. He had various controversies with the following emperor Theodosius who later became most intimately attached to the bishop.



Bishop Ambrosius and Empress Justina.

Ambrose introduced new forms of church music, and what is called the Ambrosian Chant was used in the worship of all the Western churches. The new Ambrosian tunes were lively and joyous and all the people took part in the singing. Responsive singing between men and women or congregation and choir, borrowed from the Greek Church, was also used extensively in the West.

Ambrose died April 4, 397 on the Saturday before Easter and was buried in the Ambrosian basilica at Milan.

2. JEROME.

He was born about 331 on the border between Dalmatia and Pannonia of wealthy Christian parents, but was not baptized until about 362 at Rome, where he had gone with his friend Bonosus to pursue his rhetorical and philosophical studies, principally the heathen Latin classics, including the Greek language. About the year 363 or after he journeyed to Gaul and the Rhine. Ten years later we find him with a number of friends in Asia Minor, visiting Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, staying for some length of time in Antioch where two of his friends died and he himself was seriously ill more than once. During this period of illness he had a vision which determined him to lay aside his secular studies and devote himself to the things of God. Seized with a desire for a life of ascetic penance he retired to the Syrian desert, devoting himself to a study of the Hebrew language.

Returning to Antioch he was ordained, but not assigned to any particular congregation. In the year 382 he was again in Rome, where he came in close touch with bishop Damasus who appointed him to revise the text of the Latin Bible on the basis of the Greek manuscripts, in order to put an end to the marked divergences in the current Western text. He began with the Gospels which he rendered in a much better Latin translation and also produced a good translation of the Psalms based on the Septuagint. But there was much opposition to his work on the part of those who were accustomed to the old Latin version. He undoubtedly exercised an important influence during this stay in Rome because of his zeal for ascetic strictness. He was surrounded by a circle of well-born women, including some from the noblest patrician families, for whom he interpreted the Scriptures and acted as their spiritual adviser, influencing these women to follow his strict ascetic directions and to live a celibate life. The resulting inclination of these women for the monastic life and his unsparing criticism of the life of the secular clergy raised a growing opposition to him which made his stay after the death of Damasus impossible. He therefore withdrew from the danger zone and in 385 journeyed to Bethlehem, in order to found a monastic order. Paula

and Eustochium, two of the most prominent women of Rome, to whom he acted as priestly guide and teacher, followed Jerome to the Holy Land.

In Bethlehem Jerome settled down for the remainder of his life in a hermit's cell, where he led a life of untiring activity in literary production. His most important work during these years is the translation of the Hebrew Old Testament into Latin, which took him fifteen years to complete. Undoubtedly Jerome ranks as the most learned of the Western writers. He surpasses all others especially in his knowledge of the Hebrew language, gained after many years of hard work. He died when ninety years of age. Luther found too much vanity and too much of the monastic spirit in him.

3. AUGUSTINE.

Aurelius Augustinus was born at Thagaste Nov. 16, 354. His father Patricius, a member of the council, belonged to the influential class of the city, a hot-tempered, worldly man, unfriendly to Christianity. His mother Monica was a Christian. Of Augustine as a boy his parents were intensely proud. He received his early education in his native city from pagan teachers.

His father, delighted with his son's progress in his studies, sent him first to the neighboring Madaura and then to Carthage. Here as a student he led a more or less dissipated life to the delight of his father and to the sorrow of his mother. His mother, though a loving, self-sacrificing woman, was not always the ideal Christian mother. The mature personal piety with which she left the world she attained through her association with Ambrose and Augustine while in Italy. Augustine, however, while in Carthage, ambitious to excel did not allow his pleasures to interfere with his studies. He read the Scriptures, but the polished language of a Cicero appealed to him more than that of Scriptures. The "Hortensius" of Cicero made a deep impression upon him. He became internally dissatisfied with his life and to know the truth was henceforth his greatest desire. In this frame of mind he was readily influenced by the Manichean propaganda, becoming a firm disciple of Manicheism for the next nine years.

Augustine attained to the position of teacher of rhetoric in Carthage, attracting a large number of pupils. Manicheism, however, was gradually losing its hold upon him and its teachings failed to satisfy him in the end. He craved a wider sphere and left Carthage for Rome, despite the pleadings of his mother who feared that the life of the metropolis would be his ruin.

This change of residence completed his separation from Manicheism. In 385 he went to Milan in answer to a request for a professor of rhetoric. His mother followed him shortly after from Africa. As a catechumen Augustine listened regularly to the sermons of Ambrose. But he was not so much at-

tracted by Ambrose's faith as by his great eloquence. Morally his life here was perhaps at its lowest point. During this period his mother prevailed upon him to enter lawful wedlock with an honorable Christian young woman, but the wedding was postponed because of the youth of his bride. The woman of his former life in Carthage, by whom he had a son named Adeodatus (Gift of God), sacrificed her fond attachment to him and returned to Africa, leaving



Augustine and His Mother Monica.

the son with Augustine and promising under oath never to become attached to any man again. His companion kept her promise, but Augustine without any regard for his future wife or the promise of his companion of his former life took another concubine during these two years. Sensuality, however, began to pall upon him, yet he made no struggle against it. His sensual desires were so strong that it seemed impossible for him to break away from them.

But help came in a curious way. A countryman of his visited him and spoke to him of the many conquests of monastic life over self and of the

many conversions of others. When the visitor had gone Augustine exclaimed to his friend Alypius: "The unlearned take the kingdom of heaven by violence while we remain behind". Overcome by his emotions he hastened into the garden and threw himself down under a fig-tree, lamenting his mean condition. While thus engrossed he heard a child's voice from a neighboring house repeating the simple words "Tolle, lege" (take up and read!). It seemed to him a divine behest. He picked up a copy of St. Paul's epistles which he had left where he and Alypius had been sitting, opened at Romans XIII, and read: "Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof". VV. 13. 14. Together Augustine and Alypius went into the house to relate to Monica their experience and their new intentions.

Augustine, intent on breaking with his old life, gave up his position, wrote to Ambrose asking for baptism, retired to a country-house put at his disposal by one of his friends, and prepared himself for baptism. On the sabbath before Easter 387 he was baptized together with Adeodatus and Alypius. Plans were then made for returning to Africa, but these were upset by the death of Monica, which occurred at Ostia as they were about to cross the sea, and has been described by her devoted son in one of the most touching and beautiful passages of the "Confessiones" from which we gather most of the details of his life and which is perhaps the best known of any of his many works.

The Augustine who returned to Thagaste was a far different man from the Augustine who had left it five years ago. He took up a quiet life and pursued his favorite studies and wrote continually. He sold all his property and gave the proceeds to the poor, retaining only a small portion for his personal needs. In 391 he was ordained presbyter by the bishop of Hippo. He preached before the aged bishop Valerius frequently and many of these sermons are still extant. He opposed the Manicheans bitterly, with whom he had been associated so intimately not many years before. In 395 he was made coadjutor-bishop by Valerius and soon after became bishop of Hippo when Valerius died.

A complete narrative of Augustine's activities during the thirty-five years of his episcopate would require a history of the African, if not of the whole Western Church. We can go over this wide area but briefly and note some things which constitute his importance to later Christendom. In his controversy with the Donatists he made one fatal admission and error which soon became the ruling spirit in the Church. Over against these schismatics he maintained that all those outside the Church have thereby forfeited their right to be in the State and the State should not tolerate them, but compel them to come into the Church. Thus Augustine planted the seed of intolerance and mixed the power of Church and State, from which was reaped a harvest of bloody persecutions within the Church in later centuries.

Over against the Pelagians who came from Britain and denied original

sin and claimed that Adam was created mortal Augustine maintained the true Scriptural stand and also later opposed the Semi-Pelagians in the same emphatic manner. And against the efforts of the Roman bishop he defended and maintained the independence of the African Church.

His numerous works are not free from grave errors. In so far as he detected them he had the courage to revoke them before the whole Church; but he did not discover all and the great respect for his name preserved them in the body of the Church for many centuries, until God sent his great Augustinian monk Luther who called the Church's attention to these grave errors in the works of Augustine.

Augustine died August 28, 430 while the Arian Vandals were besieging the city of Hippo. After a serious illness of ten days he fell asleep in the Lord, praying with his pupils and friends to the end.

Augustine has exerted an influence which by no means was confined to his own age nor to any one part of the Church. "Augustine is practically the father of all Western Christianity of his time. It is true that Catholicism has never officially accepted his doctrine of grace in its entirety; but this fact is of relatively slight importance when we think of the colossal influence which his writings have had upon the gradual shaping of the Church's doctrine as a whole — there is scarcely a single Roman Catholic dogma which is historically intelligible without reference to his teaching".

4. GREGORY I., THE GREAT.

Gregory was born in Rome about 540. His father Gordianus was a prominent senator. After her husband's death his mother devoted herself to cloistral life and this monastic spirit was transferred to her son. He received no extensive education; he was well read in the Latin church fathers, but he had no knowledge of Greek or Hebrew. He so distinguished himself in his legal studies that the emperor advanced him to the rank of prefect of the city in 574. His religious devotion, however, led him to renounce the world soon after and he as a monk entered the cloister of St. Andrew in Rome, which he had built together with six others in Sicily on the estates inherited from his father. The Roman bishop Pelagius II. ordained him deacon and sent him as his delegate to the imperial court at Constantinople, because the Roman bishop had need of the emperor's help against the Lombards.

In 585 he was permitted to return to Rome and his cloister and soon after became abbot. Coming in contact with some heathen slaves from Britain he conceived the idea of going as missionary to the Anglo-Saxons. He was given permission by the bishop, but he had not yet gone very far when he was recalled and was unanimously elected pope in 590 by clergy and people.

The emperor confirmed the election and Gregory, accepting the honor with great reluctance, was consecrated on September 3, 590.

During the stress of this period he preached repentance, inaugurated processional days, and had litanies sung. He forbade the sale of clerical offices (simony) and wrote a "Regula Pastoralis," which was a standard of conduct for priests. He established various kinds of charitable institutions, sought



Gregory the Great.

to mitigate the condition of slaves, ransomed many Christians from captivity, and the like.

In 595 he came in conflict with Johannes Jejunator, patriarch of Constantinople, because the latter since the year 587 assumed the title "Ecumenical Bishop", or universal bishop, which Gregory considered arrogance. Gregory styled himself "a servant of the servants of God" (*servus servorum*); nevertheless he contended that to the successors of Peter rightly belonged the leadership of the Occidental and Oriental churches, because Peter was charged with the duty of strengthening his brethren.

In 596 Gregory sent Augustine, then prior of the cloister of St. Andrew, to Britain to convert the Anglo-Saxons. Augustine

being elevated to the office of bishop and archbishop of England in rapid succession, naturally made every effort to bring Britain under the rule of Rome. But the Anglo-Saxons refused to recognize Gregory as their spiritual lord and insisted that he was merely the bishop of Rome.

Gregory took a very great interest in all monastic life, urging celibacy on all occasions. In his writings on Scriptures he was largely allegorical. In dogmatics he showed very little originality. He leaned entirely on Augustine, but he was more anxious to preserve the errors of Augustine than the great

truths of the Scriptures, and this type of Christianity which found expression in Gregory's writings became the religion of the Middle Ages. Salvation is obtained by works; Holy Communion is a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, and when celebrated in Mass has miracle-working qualities. He taught a purgatory, adoration of the saints and relics and images and was a great supporter of pilgrimages. He also introduced new forms in church music, apparently based on the efforts made by Ambrose, so that we also have a Gregorian Chant. But with Gregory congregational singing was done away with and he confined the singing chiefly to the officiating clergy.

Gregory died March 12, 604 and lies entombed in one of the chapels of the Church of St. Peter. From the standpoint of a Roman Catholic he was truly great, but from the true Christian and Scriptural standpoint he was anything but great.



ISLAM THE SCOURGE OF CHRISTIANITY.

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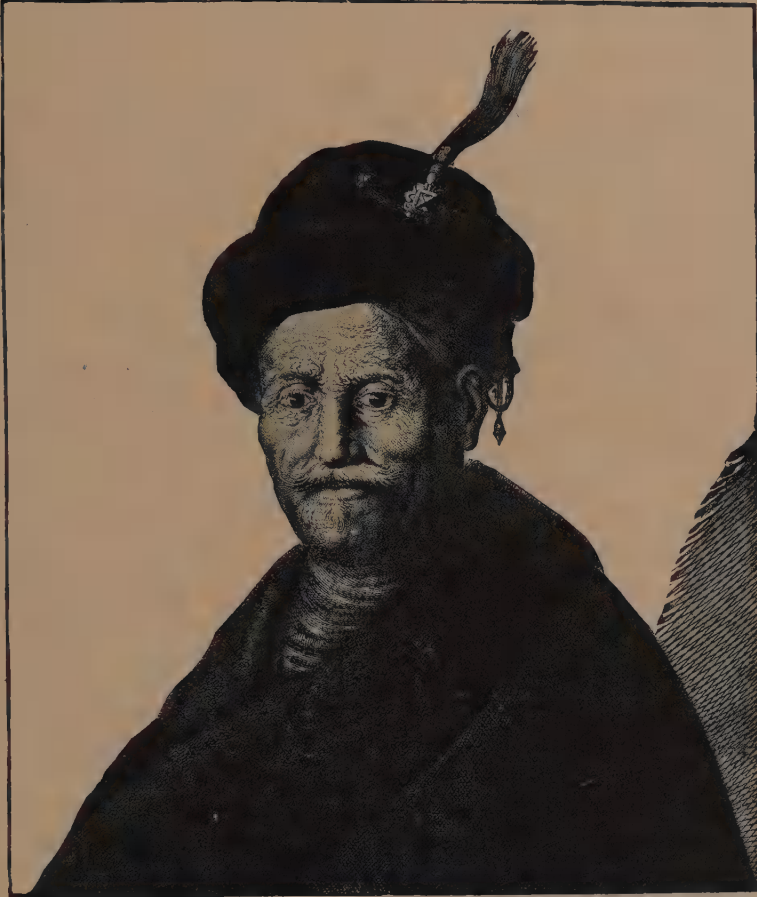
The Arabians on the southwestern border of Asia claim Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, as their ancestor. Isolated by a tractless desert and three seas Arabia was left untouched by the great political movements which passed over the rest of the world, and consequently the Arabs retained their national character unchanged for thousands of years. The Arabs were divided into tribes of which some lived in cities on the coast and followed commercial pursuits; while others roamed over the plains as nomads or Bedouins, wandering shepherds, raising and trading in camels and thoroughbred horses. The Arabs were a sturdy class of people, with sparkling eyes and lithe, strong bodies, hot-blooded, hospitable and loyal, yet proud; they delighted in robbing the stranger who traveled in their lands and were vengeful towards their enemies; their religion had degraded to paganism and astral worship, but they still tolerated some Jews and Christians among them. They gathered about the Kaaba in Mecca as their most sacred shrine in which were collected a large number of idols about the Black Stone. This Kaaba with its Black Stone was under the particular care of the noble Koreish tribe, of which tribe the false prophet Mohammed, who in God's wise providence later became the scourge of Christianity, was a member.

He was born at Mecca about the year 570. He lost his parents at an early age and came into the family of an uncle, learning the merchant trade. At the age of twenty-five he married the rich widow Chadidsha whose trading ventures he had managed for some time. It was while on these journeys that he gained some knowledge of Christianity and Judaism in a corrupted form. He could read neither the Old nor the New Testament. At the age of forty, tiring of his trade, he retired to a cave resolving to found a new religion and to become the leader of his people. He claimed the angel Gabriel came to him in a vision and commanded him as the true prophet of God to preach the true religion to the Arabs and then to spread it over the whole world.

Mohammed's earliest labors in the interest of his religion were among his immediate family and intimates. Chadidsha, his wife, was his first convert. Three years of preaching gained him forty followers. The members of the Koreish, however, ridiculed his preaching and antagonized him vehemently and he was finally compelled to leave Mecca for Medina, another Arabian city

near the Red Sea. This flight or Hegira occurred in the year 622 A. D. and marks the turning-point in his career, and from this date Islam reckons its time.

In Medina Mohammed was received with open arms and with their aid he began a "holy war" against the Meccans, defeated them in a battle, and marched against Mecca with an army 10,000 strong, before which the city



Mohammed.

capitulated without offering resistance. The Meccans were conciliated and Mohammed became ruler and prophet of both cities. The Kaaba was swept of all idols except the Black Stone and made into a temple of Allah, for all time the sanctuary of the Arab, to which every Arab must make a pilgrimage at least once during his lifetime.

From Mecca as a base he waged a "holy war" against all the surrounding country and after two years the whole of Arabia was subject to Moham-

med. He had already demanded of the rulers of all neighboring countries to submit to his rule and to acknowledge him the supreme prophet of God, when he suddenly died in the year 632 at the age of 62. One of his twenty-two wives had given him poison, in order to see whether he was a genuine prophet.

The main features of Mohammedanism are the following: There is but one God, Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet. Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, were also prophets, but of a minor order. Mohammed is the last and greatest. Allah is great, almighty, eternal, unchangeable, and demands absolute obedience. He made the world, and preserves and governs it. Every man is predestined to meet a certain fate from which it is impossible to escape. True piety consists in praying, fasting, and almsgiving. Prayer leads half way to God, fasting brings to the gates of heaven, and almsgiving opens them. Polygamy is permitted the faithful. The warrior who dies in battle is sure of paradise. The practical result of this doctrine was the inspiration of a magnificent but terrible courage, and it is this fact that caused such a dread for the jihad or holy war. Heaven is pictured in a grossly material manner, filled with sensual delights. All infidels (non-Mohammedans) are destined to the uttermost torments of hell. Ungodly Mohammedans will also go to the latter place, but their torments will not be as bad as those of the infidels; they at least have the hope that after a hundred or a thousand years they will be released. In common with the Jews the Mohammedans practise circumcision. They do not observe the Saturday or the Sunday as their day of worship, but for them Friday is the sabbath, yet not as a day of cessation of all labor. Their temples are called mosques. Prayer must always be directed toward Mecca. Apostasy is punished by death.

After Mohammed's death his teachings were compiled in book form which is called the Koran, containing not only the religion of Islam, but also the civil laws which are supreme for the Moslem.

Mohammed left no son to become his successor, which brought about the caliphate. Caliph means successor and Mohammed's father-in-law Abu Bekr (father of his favorite wife Ayesha) was elected the first caliph. Under the first two caliphs Abu Bekr and Omar Arabia was united and large sections of Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia, and Egypt came under Moslem rule. Under the later caliphs Moslem propaganda was carried on with fire and sword over the entire East, so that Mohammedanism extended over a large part of Asia Minor and to many of the islands; in the East to all the regions between the Oxus and Jaxartes; and towards the close of the seventh century Islam reached far into India. In the beginning of the eighth century Mohammedanism had gained control of the entire northern coast of Africa and by way of Gibraltar entered Spain. Heavily reenforced from Africa Islam pushed over the Pyrenees into France. Islam's aim was to overrun all of Europe from West to East and its march of victory might have become a reality had not God's hand staid its progress. Charles Martel, grandfather of Charlemagne, in the

year 732 threw back the Moors with a loss of about 350,000 and only about 50,000 gained the other side of the Pyrenees in flight. Almost all the Germanic tribes and even Lombards took part in this great bloody battle where Christianity vanquished the onslaught of the fanatic followers of Mohammed, the false prophet. Charles the Great later completed the work of Martel by driving the Saracens beyond the Ebro.

But the armies of followers of Mohammed had done untold damage. Wherever the Moslem had tread thousands of Christian churches in Africa, Asia, and Europe lay in ruins and the largest and most beautiful were converted into Mosques. The cross, the symbol of God's great love for the world, was displaced by the half-moon of Islam, the symbol of hatred and passion; from Christian belfries which had called the disciples of Christ to prayer and worship now was heard the cry of the Moslem muezzin: Allah is great and Mohammed is his prophet! In truth, thousands of Christian houses of worship which had been filled with the light of God's Word were now filled with the darkness of corruption and fraud of Islam. And all this because the Christian churches had not heeded the call of God to repentance and persisted in their evil ways. God's visitation of grace had ended and the visitation of God's wrath had begun. God knew their works that they were neither cold nor hot. And because they were neither cold nor hot but lukewarm, He spewed them out of His mouth and sent the scourge of Islam upon them that they should feel the weight of His mighty hand of wrath after they had so wantonly rejected His loving palm of mercy.



WINFRIED BONIFACE, THE APOSTLE OF THE GERMANS.

* *

Winfried Boniface or Bonifatius was born of a noble family in England. His early education began at the monastery of Exeter and at the age of fourteen he continued his studies at Nutshalling, Hampshire. He soon distinguished himself by his learning and practical knowledge and was made master of the monastic school. In the year 710, when hardly thirty years of age, he was ordained presbyter. Disregarding all brilliant prospects at home offered him by the archbishop of Canterbury he devoted himself to missionary work and in the year 716 went to Friesland, but returned after a year's apparently fruitless efforts. In the fall of 718 he traveled through Gaul and came to Rome, where he visited the pope, recommended to him in a letter by Bishop Daniel of Winchester. Gregory II., having heard of the missionary zeal of the young man, granted him a commission to do mission work in the central part of Germany. Returning Boniface journeyed through Bavaria and Thuringia and arriving in Friesland once more, staid at Utrecht for three years to assist his countryman Willibrord. In the year 722 or 723 he turned towards Thuringia and Hessia and founded a central settlement at Amöneberg. But in the year 723 he was summoned to Rome by the pope and consecrated bishop regionarius of the Germans and swore fidelity to the canons of the Church.

Boniface throughout his life displayed a most servile dependence on Rome, judging by the numerous, sometimes very childish, letters of inquiry which he wrote to Rome. But it is also worthy of note that he never hesitated to state his mind on some very shady deals which were carried through at Rome and at times criticised the pope severely, until he was politely informed by His Holiness that such criticism was out of place from a subordinate. When Boniface returned to Germany in the year 723 he was provided with letters of recommendation to Charles Martel who granted him some protection. He continued his work in Hessia for a time, felling the sacred oak of the German god Thor at Geismar, thereby proving to the Germans the vanity of their belief in their gods. In the year 725 he went eastward into Thuringia and established a monastery at Ohrdruf. He preached continually, speaking the German language fluently, and diligently read in the Scriptures. Lacking



Bonifacius Felling the Oak Consecrated to Wuotan.

(By H.M. v. Hess.)

proper assistants in his work he appealed to England for aid and many able and diligent workers were sent over, among them Lullus of the monastery at Malmesbury, and also many nuns who helped in educational lines. Thekla and Lioba are mentioned as prominent among the latter.

In the year 732 Gregory II. (732—741) promoted Boniface to the dignity of archbishop without a see. And six years later Boniface made a third journey to Rome to get further authority from the pope to bring Bavaria in closer communion with Rome, for he considered it most unseemly that there should be Christian churches within this section of the country which were not under the authority of Rome, but he did not believe he had the power to do anything in Bavaria unless he obtained a special commission from the pope to do so. Boniface was received with great honor by the pope and tarried in Rome for some time. In the spring of the year 739 he returned to Germany provided with added powers for Bavaria. He then proceeded to divide the country into four dioceses: Salzburg, Freising, Regensburg, Passau.

When Charles Martel died in 741 Boniface exercised a great influence over his two sons Karlmann and Pippin. And under the guidance of Boniface two East Frankish synods (742 and 743) were convened by Karlmann to regulate the affairs of the Church. At the German national council (742) Boniface demanded that all the clergy submit to the authority of St. Peter and his vicars, and further that all the married clergy be expelled. Both these measures Boniface carried through in council and they caused untold harm to the Church in Germany, and the antagonism to Boniface as a result went so far that instead of Bonifatius (well-doer) he was called Malefatus (evil-doer). A storm of indignation arose from both clergy and people.

In the year 742 (or 744) he founded his favorite monastery, the abbey of Fulda, to which he intended to retire in his old age and rest from his labors. But he never made use of it in that capacity. In the year 747 the pope appointed Mainz as his see.

At this period the Merovingian royal house had fallen into decay and a weakling, Childeric III., occupied the throne of the Franks. Karlmann and Pippin, the sons of Charles Martel, were the administrators of the kingdom; they were called the major-domo. And when Karlmann resigned his part of the office to enter the monastery of Monte Cassino, Pippin became the sole major-domo of the Franks. Pippin virtually possessed royal power; he was king in fact, but not in name. So he set out to get possession of the title also in a very ingenious way. He put the following hypothetical question to the pope: Who is really king, he who possesses all the power which the title conveys or he who merely bears the title of king? Pope Zacharias, coming upon a situation which could be admirably employed to his personal advantage, ruled in Pippin's favor, knowing very well that the decision was against the law of the Franks. But Zacharias figured that in return he would receive assistance from Pippin against his enemies, the Lombards. One good turn

deserves another: the pope obtained from Pippin what he expected and in addition a tract of land taken from the Lombards as his estate or domain, called the Donation of Pippin in history. Pippin was made king and Childeric III. entered a monastery. Boniface was commissioned to anoint Pippin, until in the year 754 Stephen II. came to France himself and again anointed him king at St. Denis, at the same time relieving him of his oath of allegiance to his former lord.

One would have expected that Boniface after all these years of untiring labor as missionary and in other capacities would now have retired to Fulda or Mainz or some other of his many foundations to rest upon the fruits of his labors for the closing days of his life. But no such idea was cherished by him as he advanced in years. When his countryman Willibrord died he was taken with the irrepressible desire to continue the Friesian mission. And when in accordance with his wish his faithful co-worker Lullus was elected his successor as bishop of Mainz by the synod held at Mainz in the year 754, he resigned his office and retained only his title of papal delegate. He then descended the Rhine with a large corps of assistants and pitched his camp at Dokkum in the northern part of Friesland. After preaching and baptizing up and down the country for some time, he made an appointment with all the newly baptized to come to Dokkum to be confirmed. Instead a band of heathen Friesians approached the camp and massacred Boniface and his entire company in the year 755 on the fifth of June. His body was recovered and, after some wrangling between some of the prominent monasteries, was finally conveyed to its last resting place at Fulda.

At the centenary celebration observed on June 5, 1855 the German bishops called him a pillar of the papal hierarchy. And in the year 1870 it was at the grave of Boniface that the last remnant of opposition among the German bishops to the new dogma of the infallibility of the pope succumbed to the dictates of Rome, true to the axiom of Boniface: *Roma locuta est, Rome has spoken and that settles it.*

To Protestants Boniface presents an abject spectacle. This character in the history of the Church arouses no enthusiasm in us, considering his life-long servile attitude to Rome, binding all the fruits of his missionary labors in Germany to the fraudulent powers and authority of the pope.





Death of Bonifacius.

(By H. M. v. Hess.)

CHARLES THE GREAT.

(768—814.)

* *

In treating of Charles the Great or Charlemagne, as he is commonly called, we are not so much interested in the great conqueror who brought a dominion under his control which extended from the Ebro to the Raab and from the Eider in the North to the Tiber; nor in the great political organizer who united so successfully so many different tribes into one great empire; nor in the great administrator who introduced agriculture, built bridges and canals, and furthered commerce and trade throughout the empire. We are in this connection chiefly interested in Charlemagne as the great Christian ruler who according to the measure of his knowledge employed his great powers to such great extent in the service of his Master Jesus Christ.

As a ruler his policy was to extend his kingdom as widely as possible by conquest and bring the whole into a well-ordered and homogeneous organism by diffusing throughout his domain Christian influences. When territory was once acquired and incorporated in his realm his first thought was to provide for the speedy Christianization of its population by covering the territory with Christian institutions and compelling the people to submit to baptism and to conform to the cult of the Church. In his noble ambition to unite the German tribes in one empire and one religion in filial communion with Rome Charlemagne in the early period of his reign mistook the means to accomplish this end. He employed material force, but later, having learned by experience the futility of missionary work by force of arms, he used the spiritual forces at his command, the monks, who at that time already were a formidable army.

Of the many excellent men whom Charlemagne gathered at his court to assist him in his Christianizing efforts undoubtedly Alcuin was the most prominent. He was a learned and pious English monk whom Charlemagne had learned to know while on one of his travels through Italy and persuaded to live at his court as one of his counselors. He put a great deal of pride in this man and valued him highly. Another intimate at the court was Charlemagne's amanuensis Eginhard from whose writings we learn a great deal concerning the character of Charles the Great.

Charlemagne was in constant association with these and many other in-

telligent men, from whom he learned with avidity, for his early education had been very meager. He took a deep personal interest in all forms of knowledge and throughout his reign was diligent in his efforts to learn. He had a speaking knowledge of Latin, and is said to have understood Greek and to have



Charles the Great.

had some acquaintance with Hebrew. But withal he was a German at heart and a great lover of the German language. Something of a university was maintained at his court and by an extensive educational system under the guidance of Alcuin he sought to diffuse knowledge and civilization throughout his realm. Education in the Christianising of the people was of primary importance to Charlemagne and was carried out with unremitting zeal and vast expenditure. The monasteries and churches were the chosen channels for

the spread of enlightenment, for he realized that the Church and the school belong together. Flourishing schools, where the arts and sciences were also taught, were maintained at Paris, Lyons, Rheims, Corbie, Hirsau, Reichenau, and many other places. In fact one may say that no other ruler ever accomplished so much for the diffusion of knowledge and Christianity as Charlemagne. And he had a large number of laws enacted regarding the minutest detail of all things in ecclesiastical affairs, for the express purpose of bringing



Coronation of Charles the Great. (A. Rethel.)

all the people within the fold of the Church. He instructed a deacon, Paul Warnefried, to make a German translation of the best sermons of the Fathers, which were then read in all the churches of the empire.

Regarding uniformity and articulation with the Holy Catholic Church as essential for the purposes of the State, he looked upon the Roman pope as the spiritual head of Western Christianity. The gifts and favors which Charlemagne bestowed upon the Roman See were enormous. He protected the pope against his enemies, for by doing so he believed he protected the Church. But he never thought of the pope as the infallible vicar of Christ on earth, and

consequently never hesitated to oppose the pope whenever he was convinced that the pope erred. And the pope never dared to attack him or accuse him of insubordination. It never occurred to Charlemagne to ask the pope's approval in any ecclesiastical matter. He read the Scriptures and formed his own independent opinion, yet he always sought to maintain peaceful relations with the Roman See.

When Pope Leo III. was sorely beset by a hostile faction in Rome and was driven from the city, he made his way to the royal court at Paderborn. He was received with all honor and sent back with a royal escort and ample assurances of protection. Near the end of the year 800 Charlemagne visited Rome to complete the restoration of order. And on Christmas day, while engaged in prayer at the foot of the altar of the great cathedral of St. Peter, the grateful pope approached him with a golden crown and acclaimed him emperor. Charlemagne seemed to have been taken with surprise by the pope's action; nevertheless the title "Holy Roman Emperor" pleased him because it conveyed the idea of a world empire and that had been the ambition of his life. It is true, the manner in which Charlemagne was crowned was liable to convey the impression that he had received the title by the grace of the pope, as though the pope alone had the power to make and unmake kings and emperors. And it is precisely this point on which later popes laid so much stress. But it is evident from Charlemagne's actions after his coronation that he had no thought of subordinating the civil to the ecclesiastical authority. After as before he legislated as freely in ecclesiastical as in civil matters.

Charles the Great died in the year 814. His last words were: "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit". He had lived 72 years of which he had spent 47 as the great Christian ruler of a world-wide empire. He lies buried in the beautiful cathedral which he had built at Aachen during his lifetime.





Karl Martell in the Battle of Tours.

(By Alfred Rethel.)

ROMAN CATHOLIC MONASTICISM.



A Christian's life is one continuous struggle with three mighty adversaries: the devil, the world, i. e. unbelievers, and his sinful flesh. Now the thought arose early in the Christian era, whether it was not possible to reduce the number of these enemies of the Christian. Since a Christian can not escape his sinful flesh with its evil lusts nor the devil and his temptations, might he not at least do away with the remaining adversary, the world, by withdrawing from contact with the world and its unbelief? And in the development of this line of reasoning we have the result or product of this well-meant, but mistaken thought, viz., hermitage, the forerunner of monasticism.

The first hermit of note in this early period was a certain Anthony. He was born of wealthy Christian parents at Coma, a village in Egypt, about the year 250 A. D., lost his parents when about twenty years of age, and a short time later gave all his goods to the poor inhabitants of the village, even that of his sister (certainly a most unwarrantable act), leaving her to the care of a society of some pious virgins. He himself retired to a solitary place near the village, later to a ruined castle near the Red Sea where he lived alone for many years. He visited Alexandria during the reign of Diocletian, hoping to suffer martyrdom. In this he was disappointed, however. Eventually he retired still farther into solitude where he died at the age of 105 in the year 356, attended only by his two most intimate disciples from whom he exacted the promise before he died that they never reveal the place of his burial. But about 200 years later it was alleged that his body had been found and in the tenth century it was brought to Vienne in the southern part of France and venerated as a most precious relic.

During Anthony's lifetime independent colonies of hermits appear to have been in existence, but there was no permanent organization of any kind, merely a loose fellowship. Later in the Orient, especially through the efforts of Basil, this recluse life took on the form of what we today call monasticism, whose rules were very rigorous in their exactions. Athanasius during his Roman exile conveyed the idea of this kind of life to the Western churches and praised the fruits of such a life of ascetism of Anthony and commended its emulation. And after him Jerome did much to introduce it during his stay in Rome. Hostile sentiment drove Jerome from the city when his

protector Damasus died. He went to Palestine and founded his monastery or hermitage at Bethlehem, also establishing a sort of house for female hermits, in which those women lived who had followed him to the Holy Land, fascinated by his principles of asceticism. But none of these hermitages formed any extended order of any kind. It was Benedict of Nursia who gave to Western monasticism a fixed and permanent form, developing it into a great order. Benedict holds the dignity of patriarch of Western monks.

Benedict was born at Nursia in Umbria, Italy, in the year 480. His parents were wealthy and of considerable standing in the community. He was educated at Rome, but at the age of fourteen, probably shocked by the immorality around him, left his school and his parents for a life of solitary mortification, retiring to a cave near Subiaco. However, his fame for piety soon spread through the shepherds in the neighborhood which brought his solitude to an end. The monks of a monastery near by, whose abbot had died, begged him to be their leader. He reluctantly accepted the offer; but when he attempted strictly to enforce their rule, their insubordination even went so far as to attempt to poison him. He discovered the plot in time and with a gentle reprimand again withdrew to his cave.

In the year 529 he founded the monastery of Monte Cassino on the summit of the mountain whose name the institution bears, which became the model for many other like institutions. Monte Cassino has had a long renowned history. It was destroyed by the Lombards in the year 589 and a century later rebuilt. It was again destroyed in the year 884 and again arose out of its ruins in even greater splendor. Benedict died in the year 543.

The rule of St. Benedict, on which his fame rests, forms an epoch in the history of monasticism. The leading provisions of the rule are as follows:

At the head of each monastery is an abbot, who is elected by the monks, and with their consent he appoints a provost or prior (*praepositus*). The monks are consulted only in the more important matters. The formal entrance to the cloister must be preceded by a probation or novitiate of one year. If the candidate at the close of this time still adheres to his resolution to become a monk, he is permitted to enter and must then offer upon the altar of the chapel the irrevocable vow of (personal) poverty, chastity (never to marry), and absolute obedience to the rules of the order. The life in the cloister consisted of a judicious alternation of spiritual and manual exercise. Therein consisted the greatness of Benedict's rule, who proceeded from the correct principle that idleness is the enemy of the soul and the workshop of the devil. Seven periods of the twenty-four hours of the day are devoted to prayer and the singing of psalms, according to Psalm 119: 164, "Seven times a day do I praise thee, because of thy righteous judgments". For manual labor each monk must ply some trade to occupy the other hours of the day, so that every Benedictine cloister was so arranged as to be able to supply all its own needs without coming in contact with the world. In other respects,

too, the life of this order is very simple compared with the rigorous life of the Oriental monasteries. The clothing of the Benedictines consists of a tunic with a black cowl (hence Black Friars).

Benedict undoubtedly had no idea of the vast historical importance which this rule, originally designed for Monte Cassino, was destined to attain. By his rule he became the founder of an order which spread with great rapidity



Benedict of Nursia.

over the whole of Europe and formed the model for all other monastic orders in the West, and gave to the Catholic Church an imposing array of missionaries, authors, artists, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and popes having a large share in the Christianizing of the peoples of Northern Europe. And its fostering care of religion, of humane studies, and of the general civilization of Europe, from the tilling of the soil to the highest learning, has given it an honorable place in history, though in the course of time it did decay in discipline and degenerate.

From the time of Boniface, Western monasticism stood forth as the standard-bearer of civilization. But already during the time of Charlemagne and of Louis the Pious the order tended to secularization and degeneration.

The first attempts to restore the ancient strictness of the order was made by Benedict of Aniane. And after him attempts upon attempts have been made at reformation within the ranks of the order and from without, but with very little success. And every new attempt produced new forms of monastic orders, marking the beginning of the process of disintegration of Western monasticism, and many branches of the Benedictine order sprang into existence, which in their time and in their place have exercised a diversified influence.

In France in the twelfth century the new congregation of the Cistercians exercised the greatest influence, especially through Bernhard of Clairvaux who joined that congregation in the year 1115. And since his time the Cistercians have been called the Bernhardines. Other orders that came into existence for one reason or another, mostly through reformatory movements, were the Carmelites, the Premonstratensians, the Carthusians, the Order of St. Anthony, and various others of minor importance.

The crusades of the twelfth century and later produced the so-called knightly orders, whose original object was the protection and succor of pilgrims to the Holy Land, as the Knights of St. John, Knights Templars, and the Teutonic Order; the last named was active principally in Germany for the conversion of heretics. Each of these new orders had a new habit to distinguish them from the other orders. New orders and congregations multiplied to such an extent that a check was put on their further increase by the Lateran Council of the year 1215. Despite this injunction, however, two more orders were founded around this period, the Franciscan (founded by Francis of Assisi about the year 1221 and confirmed by Pope Honorius III. in the year 1223. Francis of Assisi was born in the year 1182 and died in the year 1226) and the Dominican (founded by Dominicus Guzman, born in the year 1170 in Spain and died in the year 1221. This new order was confirmed by Pope Honorius in the year 1216). Both these orders were mendicant orders, though originally the Dominican was not intended to be such. The special duties of the Dominicans and the Franciscans were preaching and hearing confessions. They traveled from city to city in the performance of these duties, which aroused much dissatisfaction on the part of the resident clergy. They resented the intrusion of the mendicants into their organized parishes, so that Innocent IV. was obliged to limit their privileges, allowing them to preach and hear confessions only with the assent of the parish priest. The universities were at first unfriendly to the mendicants and tried to bar out the Preaching Friars. But the famous contest in Paris was finally terminated in favor of the Dominicans in the year 1259, and it was not long before they occupied theological chairs in all the prominent universities of Europe. The rapid growth of these orders is due chiefly to the protection of powerful friends among the kings and nobles and to the lavish privileges which the popes conferred upon them. They were under the direct control of the pope who used them to advantage in the aggrandizement of his temporal and spiritual power. The Dominicans

had the advantage over the Franciscans in being preferred, if not exclusively, as inquisitors. The Dominicans were appointed the official administrators of the office of the inquisition, but the Franciscans also had a share in the application of this terrible institution upon heretics.

Withal it must be admitted that all these orders of whatever nature underwent a gradual and steady decay and degeneration. The many attempts at reformation were only temporarily successful, and in spite of the vast number of monasteries and brotherhoods, monasticism was doomed inevitably to fall into a state of idle unprofitableness because of the very nature of this kind of life. It is an unwholesome, unnatural mode of life and the many crimes and shameless conditions which were permitted behind the walls of those "sanctuaries" are proverbial in the history of the Middle Ages, and no amount of effort on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, honest or Jesuitical, will ever be able to wipe out that filthy smudge. Monasticism began with good intentions and lofty ideas, but ended in horrible distortions of a sober, Christian mode of life.



THE CRUSADES.

* *

These expeditions of Christian Europe for the recovery of the Holy Land occurred at a time when the wave of Mohammedan conquest had been at a standstill for more than four hundred years. The old fanatic zeal of Islam had cooled and worldly pursuits and high culture now occupied the Moslem world. In Christian Europe, however, the religious sentiment was gaining in strength. Ever since the time of Constantine the Great pilgrimages were made to the Holy Land and the impression gradually gained ground that prayers offered up at the birthplace or the burial-place of the Lord were more pleasing to God and had greater power and effect than prayers said at home. And as long as the Arabian Mohammedans were in possession of the Holy Land these Christian pilgrimages were made without any great hardships. This worship at such "sacred places", however, was not conducive to a high appreciation of the great Gospel truth of salvation through Jesus Christ, but elevated the worship of relics and prayers to a position all out of accord with the basic principle of Christianity that faith in Christ alone is necessary to salvation. And an age which laid so much stress on sacred relics would as a matter of course be extraordinarily susceptible to the influence of the greatest of all relics, the Holy Land.

Beginning with the year 1073 when the city of Jerusalem passed into the hands of the uncouth and barbarous Turks the Christian pilgrims were subjected to all sorts of cruelties and indignities. Many reports of such molestations were brought back to Europe and in a short time aroused a wave of indignation, giving birth to the idea of bringing the Holy Land into the possession of Christian Europe. In the year 1093 Peter of Amiens, a hermit, returned from the Holy Land and visited Pope Urban II. to persuade him to take up the conquest of the Holy Land. Urban's predecessor, Gregory VII., had already planned to accomplish this end, but had to abandon the idea. Urban again took up this plan with the ultimate aim of further aggrandizement of papal power, a union between the Greek and the Latin Church, and to increase the Church's revenues. He sent Peter of Amiens through Gaul to preach the crusade, which he did with remarkable success. And at the Synods of Clermont and Piacenza in the year 1095 Urban himself preached the crusade before great throngs and stirred the mighty multitudes to frenzied enthusiasm.



Godfrey of Bouillon
(After the Painting)



ing Jerusalem.

(on Piloty.)

The number of those who assumed the crusader's cross (a red cross affixed to the garment on the right shoulder) increased daily, going into the hundreds of thousands. General religious enthusiasm (more or less superstition), the ambition of the Church, and the lust for adventure and conquest were the chief motives which from then on for two centuries (1096—1270) moved great Christian masses to take up the seven crusades, the Franks in the lead at all times, but also many of the German princes with them. The first tumultuous bands of pilgrims under the lead of Gaultier Sansavoir and Peter of Amiens after the wildest excesses, in which the Jews along the Rhine appear as the principal sufferers, found a pitiful end in Hungary and beyond the Bosphorus.

• The real crusading began in the year 1096. The most prominent leader of this crusade was the French nobleman Godfrey of Bouillon who enlisted in the cause from purely Christian motives. The Christian cause, however, suffered from dissensions among its leaders, who were not all like Godfrey, and also from the machinations of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I. who sensing danger to his power by the presence of these great western armies within his borders demanded that they pledge allegiance to him, which after much negotiating was finally done on the plains of Chalcedon where 600,000 crusaders are said to have been assembled. After many appalling losses in their conflicts with the Turks the Christian armies in October of the year 1097 arrived before Antioch. This city was captured and two years later (1099) the Christian armies numbering but 20,000 captured Jerusalem. Godfrey was acclaimed Protector of the Holy Sepulchre, after having refused the title of King of Jerusalem. He died in August of the year 1100. His brother Baldwin, having less scruples than Godfrey, became his successor and called himself King of Jerusalem.

When the news of the fall of the strong frontier fortress of Edessa in the year 1146 reached Rome, Pope Eugene III. called on the nations for a second crusade (1147). Bernard of Clairvaux was the great preacher of this crusade, dwelling upon the taking of the cross as a potent means in gaining absolution from sins and attaining grace. Louis VII. of France and Conrad III., emperor of Germany, headed this crusade. They returned without having taken Damascus. The German army was almost totally destroyed.

In the year 1187 Jerusalem itself fell into the hands of Sultan Saladin. The spirit of enthusiasm for crusades, however, was waning and it needed all sorts of threats and incentives on the part of Pope Gregory VIII. to move a number of Christian princes of Europe to undertake the third crusade (1189—1193), among them Emperor Frederick I. Barbarossa, who captured Iconium and soon after lost his life by drowning in the river Calycadnus (1190). The other two kings, Philip August of France and Richard Lionheart of England, quarreled and returned home, leaving Jerusalem in the possession of the Sultan.

The vital crusading spirit by this time had died out and the succeeding crusades are to be explained rather as rising from the efforts of the papacy in its struggle against the secular power. Innocent III. demanded that the

princes undertake another crusade, the fourth, but the French noblemen only responded. The Venetians under their astute doge, Enrico Dandolo, succeeded in turning this crusade to their own purposes. The crusaders threw themselves headed by Baldwin of Flanders against the Byzantines and captured Constantinople, establishing the Latin empire there (till 1261). An outburst of the old crusading enthusiasm for which Innocent was chiefly responsible led to the children's crusade of 1212 which robbed Germany and France of 40,000 children, boys and girls, who succumbed on their way through Europe or were seized and sold into slavery.

In the year 1228 Emperor Frederick II. undertook a fifth crusade, though laden with papal excommunication. Through diplomacy he achieved unexpected success, Jerusalem and several other cities being delivered to the Christians for a period of ten years. He then returned to settle his score with the pope.

Europe's last efforts appear in the two unsuccessful crusades of Louis IX. the Pious of France: the sixth in the year 1248 and the seventh in the year 1270. Jerusalem was again lost to Christendom in the year 1247 and only a few seaports of Palestine still remained in the possession of the Christians. With the year 1291 all traces of the Christian occupation of Syria disappeared.

After the death of Louis IX. the papacy realized that further efforts to arouse the people to more crusades were futile. The princes of Europe and their people turned a deaf ear to the pope's pleadings and threats. The Germans especially looked askance on the motives of the Church in urging war against the Mohammedans and eyed with suspicion the ambition of the papacy. The crusades, however, had been a most profitable source of revenue for the coffers of the popes and with the end of these crusading movements they were compelled to devise other means to supplement their income. Such means were found without much difficulty. The pilgrims now shut out from the greatest shrine of Christian worship turned to the West or to their own land for sacred places, and the creation of such centres and objects of devotion became the important function of the Church. The worship of relics extended enormously and the trade in such was carried on in all conceivable forms and not without the grossest absurdities and deceptions. Legends and miracles of saints increased and portrayed the religious sentiments of the age and the veneration of the Virgin overshadowed entirely the worship of the Savior Jesus Christ, who in the rules and regulations and canons for penances and absolution of the Church was made out to be a wrathful Judge who demanded appeasing of His anger by prayers and saintly acts. The Christian religion was materialized and commercialized in the grossest manner in an effort to swell the income and increase the power of the pope. The many millions of Europe who lost their lives in these crusades were most certainly not martyrs to Christ's name, but to the papal aggrandizement of power and lust for wealth.



THE POPES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE PAPACY BEFORE GREGORY VII.

That the Church had already drifted away from the original simple organization of the apostles was noted as early as the first ecumenical council at Nicaea. The Roman bishops insisted ever and anon throughout the succeeding centuries after that council that they were the leaders of the Church. Gregory I. in his conflict with the patriarch of Constantinople over against the assertions of the Byzantine bishop styled himself "servant of the servants of God", but with the crafty qualification that to the successors of Peter rightly belonged the leadership of Christendom. But in this early period of the Church these claims of the Roman bishops still met with a considerable amount of opposition. After Gregory's time, however, the situation changed markedly and the people gradually became favorably disposed to the Roman bishop's claims to leadership in Christendom. The meddlings of the pope in the time of Boniface are apparent. And though in Charlemagne's time the pope was looked upon merely as the bishop of Christendom and the emperor's dominion, possessing certain prerogatives above other bishops and especially called to look after the spiritual side of this great Christian commonwealth, who could not act independently of the emperor, yet several things conspired at the death of Charles the Great to bring about a transformation of this subordinate position of the pope. The imperial and royal power after Charlemagne was no longer in a position to preserve intact its ecclesiastical leadership. The pope was repeatedly called in by the wrangling royal families to act as judge in many important issues. The popes were tempted by these conditions to encroachments upon political and ecclesiastical fields and employed all these conditions to the furtherance of their policy of subordinating princely and temporal power to the Church and vesting deciding control in the bishop of Rome. This end was accomplished by Pope Nicholas I. (858—867) who found material and effective support for his efforts in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, just then coming to the front, barefaced frauds and falsehoods, upholding the supreme authority and sovereignty of the papal see.

Previous to the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals compilations had been made of the resolutions of councils and provincial synods, of circular letters of

prominent bishops, also of Roman bishops, and various other important documents containing important decisions. Such compilations were then looked upon as the ecclesiastical or canon law of the Church, which gradually displaced the Scriptures as the supreme standard and law of the Church. A Spanish bishop, Isidore of Seville, made the first important compilation, briefly called the *Hispana*.

About the year 825, however, a compilation of ecclesiastical resolutions and decretals appeared in France under the honorable name of Isidore, which besides the complete *Hispana* also contained a large number of forged decretals. The author of these Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals has remained unknown to this day. The falsity of the Pseudo-Isidorian fabrications is now admitted even by papal writers. The decretals fabricated for the express purpose of creating the belief at large that the Roman bishops since the time of the apostles always were the leaders and rulers of the entire Church and the whole world. Pseudo-Isidore exalted the priesthood above every civil power, with the Roman bishop, the pope, at its head. All synods are made wholly dependent upon the pope. No king has the right to call a synod without the consent of the pope, nor may a cleric or bishop be tried in a civil court; neither may a charge be brought against a bishop by a layman or any inferior cleric.

On the basis of these Decretals the pope was made and made himself the supreme priest and the supreme sovereign with absolute power. The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals were considered genuine up to the time of the Reformation. But before the pope came who upon the basis of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals attempted to subject the whole world to his supreme authority as Vicar of Christ on earth, a number of popes occupied the papal chair, the very mentioning of whose names calls forth an execration on the part of honorable men.

In view of the moral standard of the Roman See the period from the year 900 to 1000 has been called the Age of Pornocracy, for during this period the paramours and sons of two degenerate Roman women, Theodora and Marozia, occupied the papal throne. Shortly before the year 900, in the year 897, Pope Stephen VII. made a most repulsive exhibition of the depth of degradation to which the papacy had fallen. He was a most violent opponent of his predecessor Formosus (died 896). Shortly after his accession to the papal throne Stephen convened a synod, had the corpse of Formosus exhumed, after it had been in the grave for nine months, arrayed in pontifical robes and seated upon the throne of St. Peter. Thereupon a complaint was lodged against the decomposed pontiff and the synod pronounced him deposed and all consecrations performed by him were declared null and void. They then tore the apostolic vestments from the body and cut off the three oath-fingers from his right hand. The Roman clerics dragged the corpse through the streets of Rome and cast it into the Tiber. The horror aroused by this outrage led to a sudden uprising of the people and the assassination of "His Holiness" Pope Stephen VII. Pope Theodore II., however, repealed the

decisions of this synod during the twenty days of his reign and had the corpse reinterred ceremonially. — Sergius III. (904—911) was entirely under the control and influence of Theodora, wife of the Roman senator Theophylactus. She also put John X. upon the papal chair. Marozia, the equal of Theodora and an enemy of John X., had the latter removed (928), put in prison, and strangled in the year 929. Soon after the 25 year old son of Sergius III. by Marozia was put on the papal throne by his mother. His stepbrother in turn cast her and John XI. into prison where the latter was strangled with a pillow (936). Thus popes were made and unmade by women and nobles for decades and the proceedings are a veritable disgrace and shocking to every sense of decency. Pope Benedict IX. (1033—1045), a mere youth, dishonored the papal throne by the most inconceivable vices, so that his contemporaries styled him a beast in his excesses and a veritable devil in his cruelties. The climax of his pontificate was his sale of his papal honors to his godfather, John Gratian, who assumed the title of Gregory VI.

Such were the conditions of the papacy when a man by the name of Hildebrand came into the college of cardinals, whose energetic efforts wrought at least a semblance of decency and order in the household of the Vatican. He knew how much the papacy had suffered through this most disgraceful conduct of the popes, and to retrieve this deplorable situation became Hildebrand's sole ambition when he was created cardinal, and in an increased measure when he was elected pope in the year 1073.

GREGORY VII.

(1073—1085.)

Gregory's fundamental ideas, as gathered from his official statements, respecting the episcopate, the Church, and the State, which he endeavored to carry out during his reign, were the following: Christ who through the prince of the apostles instituted the Roman Church gave to Peter and also to his direct and lawful successors, the popes, all power in heaven and on earth, that is, first of all spiritual power. By virtue of this power the pope, therefore, in his official capacity is unquestionably holy and consequently must be addressed as the "Holy Father", no matter who or how he is. He represents the divinity, Christ, whose vicar he is on earth (*ipsius Christi in terris vicarius*), and he is the supreme judge in all things in the name of the prince of the apostles, of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. But he also represents the Church universal as its head. Whoever, therefore, desires to hear the Church must hear him.

Again, since in him is vested all power, the pope and he alone is the source and sum total of all spiritual power. Spiritual and temporal power are related to one another as the greater to the lesser, as the soul to the body, as the sun

to the moon. When Christ gave Peter the keys he did not except the kings, whose power originally came from the prince of this world, the devil, from this power of the keys. Therefore only those kings who obey the pope deserve to be called Christian kings, all others are tyrants, children of the devil, whom the pope may depose and excommunicate and whose subjects he may relieve of their oath of allegiance. For the pope in reality is the only emperor to whom all other rulers must pay homage. If even bishops and priests must pay such homage and render obedience to the pope, how much more not kings and emperors who are so much inferior to these in power as lead is inferior to gold! Priests are called to death-beds to administer the last rites, but never kings. The priests through their word create Christ's body and blood, not a king. The priest looses and binds, the king has no such power. The pope's will and command must therefore be obeyed absolutely. The Church is not a servant, but the supreme lord of all.

These were the principles which animated every action of Gregory to his very last and he endeavored with a great amount of skill to make the papacy all-powerful. Under five popes for about thirty years he had exerted a large influence in the affairs of the administration of the Roman See. During his stay in Germany he had learned to know the sentiments and conditions of the nation which was destined more than any other to mold his future policy. He knew that if he wanted to attain the goal which he had set himself on his accession to the papal throne he must do three things: extirpate simony, gain possession of the investiture, and enforce the celibacy of the clergy.

What was simony? Simony was nothing less than a traffic in spiritual offices. The term simony has its origin in the sacrilege of Simon who desired to buy from the apostle Peter the power to impart the Holy Spirit to whom he pleased (Acts 8: 18 ff.). It was quite customary for archbishops, bishops, and other high dignitaries to buy these titles with their attendant rights and privileges from the emperor, king, or any other worldly prince. These dignitaries in turn granted minor titles and offices for a monetary consideration, in order to reimburse themselves, so that this vicious practice extended throughout the hierarchical system. Now the pope was not so much displeased with this practice itself. What prompted him to attack simony was, in the first place, because none of this money flowed into his own spiritual pocket, and, in the second place, because these church dignitaries in any controversy had the support of the emperor and worldly princes in opposition to the pope.

With respect to the investiture the pope maintained that he alone, not the emperor or any worldly prince, had the right to grant to bishops the pastoral staff and the episcopal ring and bestow upon abbots the insignia of their office. The investiture of an episcopal see, however, conveyed not only spiritual, but temporal jurisdiction as well. And since the pope declared that he was the supreme lord of all, he naturally claimed the prerogative to confer both temporal and spiritual power. It took a long time, however, for the

pope to finally succeed in establishing this exalted position in this respect. Gregory did not see the outcome of the controversy.

And lastly, Gregory intended to enforce the celibacy of the clergy. In Germany large numbers of priests were married and lived a happy, contented life until Gregory destroyed these peaceful homes. In order to accomplish his end, he sent an appeal to the nation not to tolerate any married priests within its borders. A storm of protest arose from the German priests and they refused to obey. But the pope declared all sacraments administered by married priests invalid and with the assistance of the monks, who led the agitation against the resident priests, Gregory compelled them to come to terms, thereby lowering thousands of noble and honorable women to the position of concubines and their children to bastards. This notorious achievement caused unbounded bitterness towards him, but Gregory desired an army of priests whom he could command at will, who were not tied to the hearth or family, men without patriotism, whom he could place anywhere to carry out the full scope of the interdict, an ungodly disciplinary measure, employed by the popes of the Middle Ages to good effect to compel whole nations at a time to submit to the demands of the papacy. The total interdict forbade public worship, the administration of the sacraments, and Christian burial. Gregory knew well enough that he would be compelled to employ the interdict to accomplish his plans for world power.

Gregory attempted and succeeded to a degree to make good his claim to the fictitious title of supreme ruler of the world. In his political claims on Dalmatia, Corsica, and Sardinia he was successful. He cherished the vain hope of making Spain a papal feudal kingdom. He wrote to the kings of Poland and Hungary in the spirit of an over-lord. From the Grand Duke of Kiew he demanded tribute and received it annually from the Duke of Bohemia. The kings of Denmark and England were summoned — without practical result — to transform their kingdoms into feudal dependencies upon the apostolic prince. He even maintained relations with the kings of Norway and Sweden and with the Emir of Tunis. Because of the conflicts in Germany Gregory could not effectually assert his authority over against William I. of England or Philip I. of France. The king of England ignored all the demands of the pope and paid no attention to Gregory's claims, but was never censured. He threatened excommunication and the interdict, and even deposition, against Philip who had aroused his ill-will by reason of simony and ecclesiastical oppression. But the pope's threats were completely ignored.

The most important chapter in the history of Gregory's reign deals with his relations to Germany. Henry IV. (1056—1106) was a mere lad when made king. He was inexperienced in statecraft, so that the power of the kingdom was weakened and Henry was unable to maintain his father's attitude toward the papacy. The situation accordingly was most favorable for

Gregory. When Henry sustained a defeat at the hands of the Saxons, he was compelled to seek the pope's aid. The declarations which the king laid before the pope's legate in these negotiations were entirely satisfactory to Gregory and he thought he had a loyal and obedient son in Henry IV. At two councils (1074 and 1075) five of Henry's counselors convicted of simony were exiled. In the summer of the year 1075, however, the situation of the German king changed completely owing to his victory over the Saxons. He thereupon recalled his exiled counselors and deposed the bishops which Gregory had appointed in their place, Henry at this period was just twenty-five years of age. These reversals called forth an ultimatum on the part of the pope, referring to the alleged crimes of Henry for which he might be excommunicated and deposed. Henry forthwith convened a council at Worms (1076), at which some 24 simoniacal prelates sided with the king with the result that Gregory was declared deposed.

The papers were conveyed to Rome by Roland, a cleric of Parma, who contrived to have them read aloud before the Lenten Synod just then in session. Gregory retorted by excommunicating the king, declaring him deposed, and releasing his subjects from their oath of fealty. Henry just then attending an Easter celebration in Liège ridiculed the action of the pope. However, Gregory knew the extent of his power. The German princes fell away from Henry and in a short time he found himself isolated. The rebellious princes agreed to deprive him of the crown, unless the papal ban was removed within a year, by Feb. 22, 1077. Henry clearly discerned his dire predicament and shortly before Christmas, filled with the one desire to be reconciled with the pope at any price, set out from Speyer, reaching Italy just as Gregory was starting out to cross the Alps into Germany. Surprised by the news of the king's arrival in Lombardy, Gregory fled to Canossa, the castle of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany. Henry appeared before the gate of the castle as a penitent and put upon Gregory the moral obligation to release him of the ban, though not without reservation, for the pope never revoked the sentence of deposition. Gregory at this point arrived at the pinnacle of his career, but his star soon waned. Henry had forced the issue, in consequence of which Gregory's plans went to pieces and his prestige vanished.

The sentiment of Lombardy was heartily in favor of Henry and this did much to bring back his former confidence. The Lombard bishops under the lead of Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna effectually blocked Gregory's return to Rome, feigning that they were protecting him against the Lombards. The German princes, seeing themselves left in the lurch by the pope, proceeded to elect Rudolph of Swabia as opposition king to Henry. Gregory treated the matter of Henry's or Rudolph's legitimacy to the crown as an open question, undecided what course to take. Henry in the meantime hastened to Germany and over the contest for the crown the country was precipitated into a civil war. In the beginning of the year 1080 a report came to



Canossa.

(After the Painting by O. Friedrich.)

Gregory of the alleged victory of Rudolph, whereupon the pope again placed Henry under the ban and the sentence of deposition. But Henry was undaunted, for public opinion was now against the pope. Henry vanquished Rudolph in battle, wherein the latter was mortally wounded. Henry now took the offensive and crossed the Alps into Italy and in three years' time conquered Rome. Gregory fled into exile and Guibert of Ravenna was enthroned as Clement III., who in turn crowned Henry emperor in March of the year 1084. Gregory lived seven months longer in exile at Salerno, forsaken by his friends, but unbroken in spirit to the end. He died in the year 1085.

INNOCENT III.

(1198—1215.)

The Gregorian party, however, soon gained the upper hand again in Rome and elected Urban II. opposition pope. Clement III., whom Henry IV. had made pope, was compelled to withdraw soon after. Urban and his party were unscrupulous in their efforts to consolidate their power. Urban induced Conrad, the oldest son of Henry IV., to fall away from his father and then crowned him king of Italy in the year 1093, and the emperor had the greatest difficulty in having his son deposed through the Diet at Worms in the year 1098. — The most important feature of Urban's pontificate was the first crusade which he inaugurated at Clermont.

Under Pope Calixtus II. (1119—1124) the investiture controversy came to an end with the Concordat of Worms (1122). The emperor renounced the investiture with ring and staff and among other things also agreed to give temporal aid to the Church whenever called upon. The papacy had triumphed.

After a number of unimportant popes Innocent III. came to the papal chair in the year 1198, a man who raised the papacy to the height of its power within its history. The history of his pontificate involves the history of an entire generation, for he extended his authority over all the nations of Europe, even as far east as Constantinople. Innocent made good the assertion of the papacy that the pope was the ruler of the whole world and the Church, and wherever he encountered opposition he knew how to command recognition for his theocratic authority as the Vicar of Christ with unexampled energy and power, far exceeding that of Gregory VII. in wisdom and legal acumen. If any, he was the model and ideal pope of the popes. The leading idea of Innocent's pontificate was the following: to attain the political independence of the papal throne by making the papal state secure, by liberating Italy from foreign German rule, and by wresting Naples and Sicily from Germany, in order to be able to exercise full and unlimited spiritual supremacy over all states, princes, and nations of Christendom; and finally the extirpation of all heretics and strict discipline within the Church.

Innocent carried out a large part of his program. In the internal administration of the Church Innocent far exceeds all his predecessors in the absolute power which he wielded. No one else encroached to such a degree upon the prerogatives of the bishops and metropolitans or so highly arrogated to himself the right of appointment vested in the local dignitaries. And whatever cleric dared to resist his commands had to wander to Italy and repent of his insubordination in the most humble fashion.

The king of Portugal paid tribute to the Roman See, put his kingdom under the protection of the papal chair, and asked the pope to confirm his last will and testament. The king of Aragon, Peter II., surrendered his domains to God and the pope and again received them from the pope as a papal feudatory with the condition of discharging an annual feudal rentage to the Roman See to the intense indignation of the nobles of the realm, who refused to contribute towards the above tribute. The prince of Bulgaria received the royal crown from the pope. The controversy in Norway over the successor to the crown was submitted to Innocent for his decision. How strenuously Innocent insisted that the pope alone had the right to excommunicate kings and absolve them from the ban can be seen from the case when Archbishop Eric of Trondhjem absolved King Hakon of Sweden without consulting the pope. The renown of this powerful pope extended to Poland, Dalmatia, Hungary, Wallachia. To restore the prestige of the papacy in Rome he induced the imperial prefect of Rome to recognize the pope's supreme authority. Then he came forward as the liberator of Italy from foreign German rule, conquered Spoleto, subdued Perugia, assumed a commanding position in Tuscany, and soon passed in all Italy as the protector of its national independence.

In Germany in the year 1198 two pretenders were striving for the crown: Philip of Swabia of Hohenstaufen and Otto IV. of the House of Guelph. Innocent wrote to the German princes to permit him to arbitrate the matter. The German princes, however, the majority of whom were the supporters of Philip, exhibited a determined independence, refusing to acknowledge the pope's right to meddle in their affairs and assume to pass judgment on their elections. Innocent openly sympathized with Otto IV., though he appeared to be considering the rights of both aspirants. And when the Hohenstaufen party disavowed him, he recognized the Guelph as German king and future emperor and excommunicated all the opponents. Germany was then precipitated into a long and weary war, in which the fortune of arms turned against Otto; but at the critical moment Philip of Swabia was assassinated. Otto IV. now submitted to a new election and in the year 1208 was universally recognized as king of Germany. He then started out across the Alps and in the year 1209 was crowned emperor by Innocent, after having made a compact with the pope in which he renounced the most essential rights of the empire in Italy and conveyed to the Roman See Ancona, Spoleto, Tuscany, and the exarchate of Ravenna. But a year later Innocent already excommunicated

Otto because he would not grant him all imperial rights in Italy, and used his influence toward having Frederick of Sicily crowned king of Germany in the year 1215 at Aachen. However, from the standpoint of the Church the elevation of Frederick II. proved later to be an even greater blunder than the favor shown to Otto IV.

In France Innocent could boast of even greater success. King Philip II. (1180—1223) had repudiated his lawful wife, Ingeborg, a Danish princess, and married Agnes, daughter of the Duke of Meran. Innocent took up the cause of the repudiated wife, and when Philip Augustus turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the pope, he excommunicated him and declared the interdict upon all France. The result was that Innocent had the satisfaction of seeing the queen again accepted with honor by her penitent spouse. And although he had declared the marriage with Agnes adultery, he pronounced the children of this union legitimate!

Innocent's relations with King John of England are a brilliant instance of his daring attitude even against a whole nation. Upon the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury the monks of Canterbury elected their superior, Reginald, successor to the deceased prelate. In accordance with the king's wish Bishop John of Norwich was elected to the archiepiscopal chair. In the controversy over the election Innocent peremptorily summoned both parties to Rome, annulled their election, and demanded that Cardinal Stephen be "elected", threatening excommunication and the interdict. In addition Innocent had his clerics "prove" to the king that originally and very frequently after the leading dignitary of England had been elected in Rome. But the king was not disposed to have a stranger forcibly imposed upon him by the pope. The pope declared the interdict in the year 1208. The king retaliated by expelling all clerics from England and confiscating their property. Hereupon the pope excommunicated him and released his subjects from their oath of fealty. He further called upon Philip II. to drive the unworthy fellow from the throne and himself take possession thereof. John then yielded and in May of the year 1213 acquiesced in the proposals of the papal legate to the effect that he would recognize Stephen as archbishop and humbly promised to make amends. John further, really to secure himself against the impending invasion by the French king, though nominally in expiation of his sins, surrendered his kingdoms of England and Ireland to God and the pope and again received them from the hands of Innocent as a papal feudatory with the condition of discharging a feudal rentage to the Roman See. Peace was now apparently restored; but the oppressed and overtaxed people and barons of England could not endure the humiliation put upon them by John when he so abjectly conveyed the realm to the pope. They rebelled and in the year 1215 forced the Magna Charta from the king, which reposed all lawmaking and taxation in a Parliament. The feudal rentage was not paid. No sooner had the contents of the Magna Charta become known to Innocent than he roundly de-

nounced the compact. He declared the charter void and worthless, outrageous, without binding force. But neither this pronouncement nor the repeated excommunication of all the king's adversaries had the least result. In this one instance Innocent failed utterly. And by nothing did the papacy do itself more harm in England than by its opposition to the Magna Charta.

Innocent was the first to impart to the crusades the spirit of heretical wars. As early as the year 1207 he called upon the French king to extirpate the heretics in the neighborhood of Toulouse, and allowed everyone who united in this crusade against heretics the same indulgences as to the crusaders proper. The principal sufferers under this form of crusade were the Waldenses and the Albigenses of southern France. The leader of the Waldenses was Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, who having learned the high value of the New Testament of which he had had translations made in the vernacular and thereby coming in possession of the pure Gospel of the Savior Jesus Christ, set out to spread this Biblical knowledge by distributing the New Testament in the vernacular among the lower classes and preaching the Gospel of a crucified Savior. And considering the dearth of pure Gospel truth in that age he possessed a remarkable amount of Gospel knowledge. He founded a society for the diffusion of the Gospel message and applied to the pope to confirm it. Pope Alexander III. in the year 1179 confirmed his vow of poverty, but forbade him to preach. Continuing to do so despite the injunction he incurred the papal ban of Lucius III. at the Council of Verona, 1184. Cast out of the Church the Waldenses now increased rapidly, and in order to stop them a persecution was instigated against them, wherein many were burned. Innocent III. sought to correct the mistake of his predecessors, but the Waldenses refused to accept his offers. This, of course, prompted Innocent to institute a rigorous campaign against them and many thousands were slaughtered in a vain effort to extirpate these heretics, scattering them all over Europe. Peter Waldo died in the year 1197 in Bohemia.

Just before his death Innocent III. convoked the great Lateran Council of the year 1215. He died a year later while on his way to Perugia. From the curse which Innocent sowed during his reign the Roman Catholic Church has reaped an abundant harvest, sufficient indeed to last to this very day.

In the wake of the crusade against the heretics followed that instrument of terror, the Inquisition. Previously the bishops had been instructed to proceed against heretics to which the princes lent their temporal power. But this form of episcopal inquisition appeared to Innocent's successors not comprehensive enough in its workings. Gregory IX. (1227-1241) created a new form of inquisition of which he himself was the head. The Dominicans had shown themselves exceptionally qualified and the office of the Inquisition was transferred to them as a special duty. The Inquisition was accorded full power in the ecclesiastical province, the officers being commissioned by the pope directly and protected by high prerogatives, making them practically

inviolable and immune. Charges of heresy even against bishops were subject to the papal inquisition and the unconditional support of the secular arm was invoked to carry out its decisions. The sentence was determined by an ecclesiastical court in secret session and carried out by the temporal authorities. Hence it is possible for certain Roman apologists to claim that the Church never shed blood.



Tortures of the Inquisition.

With the inauguration of this Inquisition in the hands of the Dominicans no one was safe. The secret court sessions placed the victims in an absolutely helpless situation to defend themselves. Any person under the least suspicion was seized and instead of a lawful trial was subjected to the most inhuman tortures and compelled to confess anything. Criminals, degenerates, and the like were brought against him as witnesses and it was impossible for the victim to disprove any of this testimony, and consequently it was impossible to be acquitted and released from the tortures.

The Inquisition was not received in all countries with equal favor. In south-

ern France the violent reactions of the tortured people led to the murder of several of the inquisitors. In Italy the intent of the Inquisition could not be carried out because of the restrictions placed upon the Inquisition. In Aragon Peter Arbues, an inquisitor, was murdered in his church while at mass. In Spain its principal operations were against all alleged converts from Judaism to Christianity. The inquisitor-general, Thomas Torquemada, appointed by Pope Sixtus IV., shattered all records in the way of executions and confiscations. In fact, in Spain the executions or "autos da fe" (actus fidei, acts of faith) took on the character of great public spectacles, authorized by the State, and were looked upon as popular festivals. It is impossible to estimate the number of victims. At Seville alone within a space of forty years 4,000 were burned and 30,000 "penitents" were sentenced to various penalties, in short, the Inquisition was the most ghastly institution which the devil through the instrument of the popes raised up under the cloak of Christianity. In Spain its reign of terror lasted for centuries, completely demoralizing the entire population. In Germany Conrad of Marburg was to bring the institution to its flower. But the wrath of the people put an end to his activities from the very outset. And although for centuries inquisitors were "appointed" for Germany, they never really succeeded in carrying out this devilish scheme to its full measure.

The "Congregatio sanctae Romanae et universalis inquisitionis" (Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition) is still maintained by the Roman Curia. Not one of all the regulations which define its action or determine its aim has been repealed, and at some opportune time they may again be enforced.

BONIFACE VIII.

(1294—1303.)

After the death of Nicholas IV. in the year 1292 dissensions among the cardinals hindered an election, until in the year 1294 when Charles II. of Naples, who needed a pope to support his designs on Sicily, took up the matter. Since there was no hope of agreeing on a cardinal a hermit, Pietro of Abruzzi, was elected, a simple-minded ascetic, whom Charles expected to use as a tool and through whom the cardinals expected to rule. Celestine V., as he called himself, was totally unfit for high affairs of state and his election was a hoax. A general discontent soon arose on all sides and the cardinals became ashamed of the prank they had played. Celestine was induced to abdicate, encouraged thereto by Gaetani, one of the most influential members of the sacred college, and less than a fortnight after Celestine had laid down the papal dignity, it was bestowed upon his adviser who took the title Boniface VIII. Celestine had yearned for the solitude of his ascetic life, instead Boniface,



Savonarola Preaching
(After the Painting by



st Luxury (1494).

(Langenmantel.)

to protect himself against the machinations of his opponents, gave him the solitude of prison life in a mountain castle where he "died".

In the memorable conflict between England and France at this time Boniface constituted himself arbiter in the matter. England was willing that he should mediate, but the king of France, Philip IV. the Fair (1283-1314), rejected this uncalled-for interference and expressed his displeasure by demanding a war tax from all the clergy of France. The pope answered by the bull "*Clericis laicos*" (1296), forbidding all princes under pain of excommunication to tax the clergy of their dominions without the papal sanction. But Philip was not disturbed in the least; he retaliated by forbidding all exportation of gold and silver from France. This cut off so large a portion of the papal revenue that Boniface modified his attitude completely. At the same time he completed the canonization of Louis IX., who as the French people now learned had done 63 miracles during his lifetime. All discord between Boniface and Philip seemed removed, but it was not long in breaking out again.

Philip had changed his mind and accepted the papal offer of arbitration in the struggle between England and France, but he was dissatisfied with the result. He was to return Normandy to England, but he refused to do so. In addition he got into conflict with the pope over the appointment of bishops. Boniface sent a legate to Paris, a French bishop, who was *persona non grata* at the court of Philip. Aggravated by the haughty demeanor of the papal legate he had him seized, tried for treason, and thrown into prison. Boniface in his bull of December 5, 1301, "*Ausculda, fili*" amid the most passionate reproaches demanded the release of his ambassador. In this bull the assertions were repeated that God had set the Vicar of Christ over princes and kingdoms, thus giving him charge to ordain what might be for the welfare of France. At the same time Boniface summoned the principal Frenchmen and prelates to Rome to take counsel with him in the difficulties of the French question. To meet this Philip summoned his estates to Paris and forbade the French prelates to go to Rome, threatening confiscation of their property. He then laid, not the bull "*Ausculda, fili*", but a document purporting to be the pope's utterance, which far surpassed even the real one in offensive language, before the assembly. The estates stirred up by this voted to stand by the king. Philip notified the pope that he would have none of his arbitration in the conflict with England, in consequence of which Boniface urged England to war.

Despite the injunction and threat of Philip not a few (about 45) French prelates attended the synod in Rome where the bull "*Unam Sanctam*", so often quoted in the recent conflicts between Church and State, was drawn up. The bull asserts in most definite terms the theory of the "two swords" and the necessity of submission to the pope for salvation. "We define that every human creature is subject to the Roman Pontiff, and we pronounce this to be altogether necessary for salvation". This sentence was approved by the council, drawn up under the direction of the pope, and there can be no

doubt, therefore, that this sentence in accordance with the dogma of the Vatican Council of the year 1870 is infallibly correct! At the same time Boniface hurled his anathema against Philip.

Philip in turn without much ado had those who proclaimed the ban in France arrested and thrown into prison. And at the second general assembly (June 1303) he had the pope condemned as a heretic and a definite accusation drawn up against him under 24 separate heads of the most appalling nature. The assembly further resolved to appeal to a general council for the election of a new pope. Boniface immediately declared an appeal from the pope to a council void, for there is no authority superior to him or even equal to him. Nevertheless 700 cities and the various estates of France stood as one man against the pope. Boniface pronounced the interdict upon all of France, suspended the French clergy, annulled the privileges of the University of Paris, and offered the crown of France to the German king, Albrecht I., who, however, declined with thanks. Boniface soon after was attacked in his own town where he had fled and was made prisoner in his own palace at Anagni. The citizens of the town, however, liberated him and enabled him to return to Rome where he died the 11th of October, 1303, worn out by the long strife and consumed with wrath. This defeat inflicted a staggering blow upon the authority of the papacy.

None of the popes of the following period up to the time of the Reformation is of such importance in the history of the Church as to demand a detailed account of each reign. We shall be content to give the general characteristics of the papacy of this age, in order to understand in some measure what the moral and religious conditions were at the time when that change came about which marks the beginning of the modern history of the Church. None but a morbid temperament would desire to know the details of the immorality and ungodliness of the individual popes. How shamefully the leader of the Church of Christ had disregarded the plain command given to the Church by her Lord to preach the Gospel unto the salvation of the souls of men, any plain, ordinary Christian, if he has followed attentively the political manipulations of the papacy as outlined, can ascertain for himself without much difficulty. The papacy of the fourteenth and fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries is not much different in caliber from that of the preceding centuries. The most worldly characters who had hardly a spark of Christianity in their systems desecrated the papal throne. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterward Pius II. (1458—1464), was an adept at writing lascivious tales and obscene poetry, so that a critic observes that his literary activity "shows brilliant wit and intimate familiarity with the indecencies and obscenities of the Roman poets, and is worthy to be reproduced in a brothel". When he became pope and his obscene literature turned against him, he exclaimed to his readers: "Away with that Aeneas and now receive Pius!" Sixtus IV. indulged in intrigues between the house of Medici and that

of Pazzi and soaked Italian soil from one end to another with the blood of those who were removed to make room for his nephews in high offices. Innocent VIII. (1484—1492) blessed his celibate life with sixteen children, eight boys and eight girls, so that the Romans mockingly styled him the "father of the country"! And the chief concern of his entire reign was to make good connections in marriage for his sons and daughters.

But the most notorious pope of this entire period, if not of the entire papacy, was Alexander VI. (1492—1503), the vilest monster of his age, his children being not much better or less. He was unquestionably a man of great gifts, but all these gifts were defiled by the immorality of his life. He ended by falling victim to his own scheme of murder by poison which by his order had been prepared for a cardinal whose estates he coveted. The remonstrances of secular powers like Spain and Portugal against the immorality of the papal court were as vain as the denunciations of Savonarola who was put to death during Alexander's time.

Girolamo Savonarola can not be passed over with a mere mention of his name. He was the most eloquent preacher of his day and the greatest orator that the Dominican Order ever produced. Luther showed his high regard for Savonarola by publishing in the year 1528 an edition of his exposition of the 51. Psalm, because of its great wealth of evangelical thoughts and Christian piety.

Savonarola was born the 21. of September, 1452, in Ferrara. His parents were wealthy, but the worldly life at his home did not appeal to him. Without his parents' consent he entered a Dominican convent at Bologna in the year 1475, where he became very intimately acquainted with the Bible, besides the works of Thomas Aquinas and Augustine. He preached his first sermon in Florence in the year 1483, but attracted no attention. Suddenly in the year 1486, while preaching in Brescia, his eloquence broke forth in all its wealth. In the year 1489 he returned to the convent of St. Mark in Florence, Lorenzo de Medici, then at the head of the Republic of Florence, urging his return, being made prior of the convent of St. Mark.

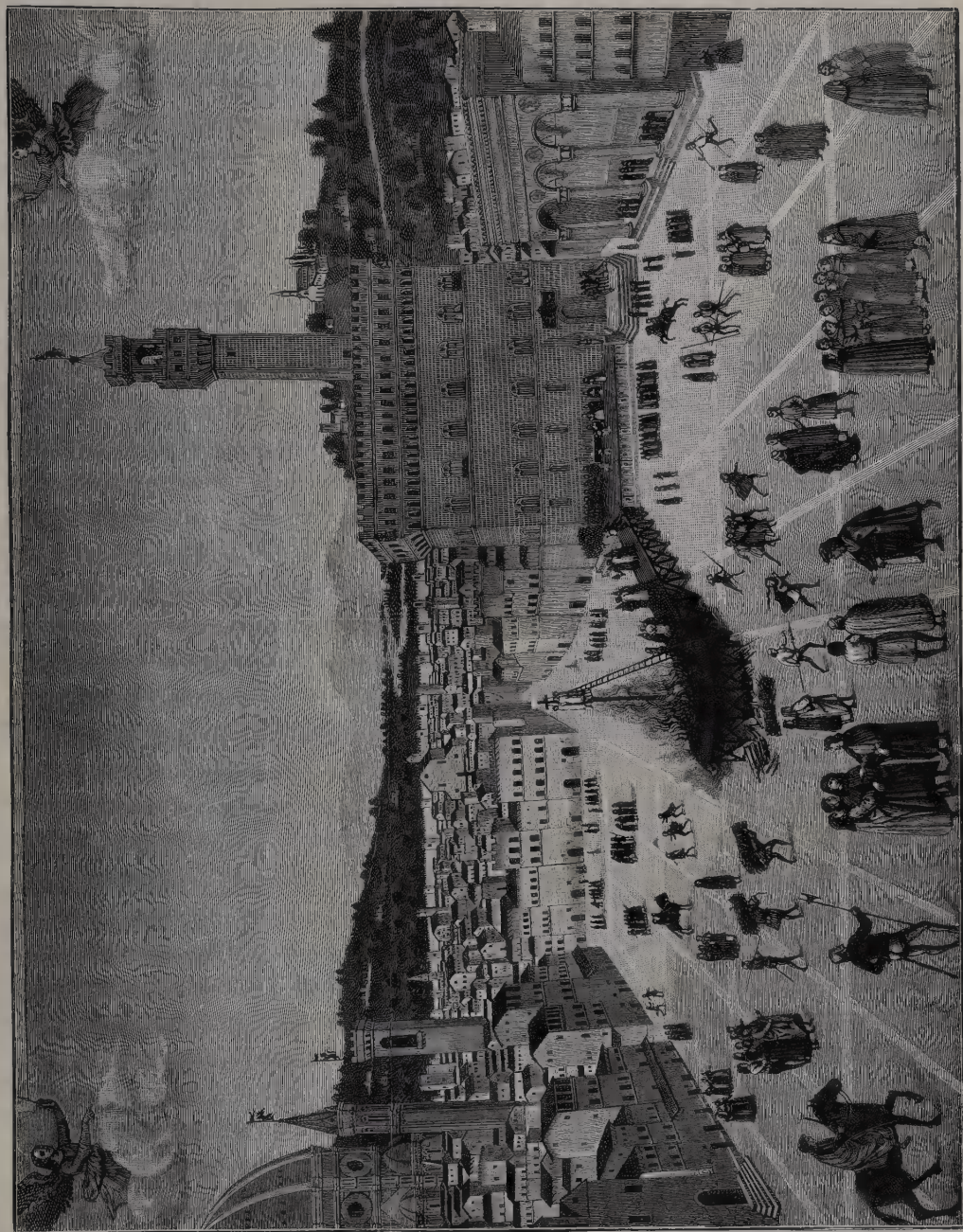
During the next nine years Florence was filled with Savonarola's personality, and he became the most conspicuous figure in all Italy. At the time of his greatest popularity throngs waited hours, at times all night, for his appearance in the cathedral. And with his great gifts of vivid description, pure language, and fervor of heart he stirred the brilliant half-pagan life which the Medicis had fostered in Florence to the very depths by the severity of his warnings uttered against the pleasure-loving city. In a short time the whole social fabric of Florentine society seemed for the moment to have undergone a change. Love to Christ seemed to have become the predominant impulse; love and good-will prevailed everywhere; the churches overflowed; the convents were filled; profane amusements ceased. Indeed, says a contemporary writer, "the people of Florence seem to have become fools for Christ's sake".

Alexander VI. became the chief factor at this stage of Savonarola's career. Having heard that Savonarola preached against him and the life at his court,



Statue of Savonarola in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

Alexander inhibited him from preaching. Savonarola did so for a time, but the authorities of the city again called upon him to preach. Alexander then



Execution of Savonarola on the Plaza del Signoria in Florence.

(Painting in the Monastery S. Marco in Florence.)

tried bribery and offered Savonarola the red hat if he would remain silent, but in vain. Savonarola declared from the pulpit that he cared naught for a cardinal's hat but only for the red hat of martyrdom. Embittered at this bold refusal Alexander exclaimed that he should "be put to death even if he were another John the Baptist".

The Franciscans then took an active part in the agitation against Savonarola and incited the people against him. St. Mark's was assaulted on Palm Sunday of the year 1498 and Savonarola and two of his most intimate friends were seized and imprisoned. They had to undergo a six weeks' trial "with torture" as Alexander had ordered. It was hard to manufacture charges deserving death against the monk, for Savonarola was no heretic. The garbled records make it uncertain how the trial was carried on. The three friends met and prayed on the morning appointed for the execution, on May 23, 1498. The sentence ran that they should be hanged and burned. The ashes of the three monks were cast into the Arno. — Here the papacy gave a fine exhibition of itself as "the woman, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus". Rev. 17: 5. 6.

The popes of the last years of the Middle Ages were men famous for their intellectual endowments, the prostitution of their office to personal aggrandizement and pleasure or the enrichment of papal sons and daughters who were acknowledged without a blush, and for whom their indulgent fathers sought in marriage the sons and daughters of the noblest houses of Spain, Italy, and France. By their patronage of fine arts and letters they gave lustre to Rome, so that pilgrimages were now made to the Eternal City to admire the embellishments of the Vatican with its priceless treasures of art. The Vatican was given up to nuptial and other entertainments and the prodigal expenditures of the papal household ran into the tens of thousands of ducats. And when at one time funds were scarce the pontiff did not hesitate to pawn the papal tiara!

Thus the ushering in of a new era of religious renewal and quickening found the papacy storing up treasures and riches, covering its inward putrefaction with much fine gold and tinsel. Christians there were none on the papal throne; rather Epicureans who expressed their delight at the large revenues which the "fable of a Christ" brought them. But the rapid course of events in the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation across the Alps shook the worldly structure of the papacy to its very foundations, so that its outward glory and glitter fell away, leaving but a skeleton, bare and naked in all its hideousness before the world. The Roman Church ever since has been endeavoring to cover her shame with a thin veil of falsehoods, forgeries, and frauds in her Jesuitical astuteness and logic.



FORERUNNERS OF THE REFORMATION.

* *

There were a number of "Reformers before the Reformation" who in various parts of Europe protested against the prevailing conditions of the Church. Most prominent among them are John Wyclif, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague. But they were not "Reformers", they were rather forerunners of the Reformation, for he only can be called a Reformer in the Church who restored to the Church the old apostolic doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ Jesus. Very few of the so-called "Reformers before the Reformation" had a clear conception of this cardinal doctrine of Christianity or preached and presented it to the public with any decided emphasis. But unquestionably they were far in advance of their own age in their knowledge of the diseases from which the Roman Church was suffering. They were excellent diagnosticians in that respect, but they failed to apply the right remedy. We, therefore, would prefer rather to call them forerunners of the Reformation, whose influence and fame extended far beyond the confines of their own countries

JOHN WYCLIF.

John Wyclif came of a large family which had long settled in Yorkshire, England, with its principal seat at Wycliffe-on-Tees. He was probably born in the year 1324, if not earlier. Contemporary sources do not give us any definite information regarding his birth, so that no certain conclusions can be drawn as to the exact date. He was very young when he came to Oxford, attending Balliol College. He obtained most of his knowledge of the Greek classics and the New Testament from Latin translations. For a time he devoted himself exclusively to the study of scholasticism and a contemporary historian says of him that "in philosophy he was reputed second to none and in scholastic discipline incomparable". After completing his studies Wyclif staid at Balliol College, first as a scholar, then as Master, and finally was placed at the head of Canterbury Hall in the year 1365 by Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury. But when Islip died, his successor relieved Wyclif and turned the leadership of the college over to a monk. And though Wyclif appealed to the pope, the issue turned out unfavorable to him in the year

1370. In the meantime he became doctor of theology and as such had the right to lecture, laying the foundation for his later literary activity. And in the year 1374 he received the crown living of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, which he retained until his death.

Wyclif's entrance upon the field of ecclesiastical politics was in connection with the feudal tribute to which England had been made liable by King John Lackland in the year 1213 to Innocent III., which had remained unpaid for 33 years, until Urban V. demanded payment in the year 1365. The Parliament of the year 1366 declared that the king had no authority to subject England to any foreign power. Should the pope attempt to enforce his demands, he would meet with the united resistance of entire England. Urban suffered his claims to fall to the ground. Wyclif had had a seat in this Parliament and had exerted a great deal of influence in the formulation of this declaration, whereby he had gained the favor of the king and had incurred the displeasure of the pope. In a tract which he issued at that time in defence of the position of the government he increased both.



John Wyclif.

The more Wyclif read the Scriptures, the more his eyes were opened to the evils within the Church. The mendicant friars also came in for a good share of opposition; he exposed the vices of mendicant orders, and proved that such monastic life had not the least foundation in Scripture and that they were a great danger to the State. His conflict with the mendicant friars lasted until his death.

Wyclif served on a commission which England sent to Bruges in the Netherlands to deal with the papal delegates respecting the "doing away with eccle-

siastical annoyances". The negotiations arrived at no definite result. But Wyclif here had an opportunity to get a close view of the worldly character of the papal emissaries, which led him on his return to England to oppose Rome and the pope with so much greater zeal. The Church needs no two heads, he declared, there is but one head, Christ, as Scripture teaches.

With the sharpening of the conflict the mendicant friars began to search his writings for heresies. And when Wyclif openly attacked the favorite dogma of the Middle Ages, namely, that of transubstantiation, the opposition to him increased in vehemence. Wyclif opposed the "novel" doctrine of transubstantiation as "heathenish", according to which every priest was able to "create" the body of Christ, a thought which seemed horrible to him in that it ascribed to the priest the transcendent power by which a creature gave existence to his creator. Wyclif's own views as to the Lord's Supper were as follows: The elements remain bread and wine, but are concomitantly in a figurative and sacramental sense the body of Christ which believers receive spiritually. — This view of Wyclif was in accord with that of Berengar of Tours which Gregory VII. had already condemned, and he attracted wide attention at Oxford when in the summer of the year 1381 he published his first twelve theses against the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In all there are about 300 sermons of his extant, besides his other works, in which his opponents found 19 heretical passages and called upon the pope to take steps against him. Gregory XI. (1370—1378) ordered the archbishop and the bishop of London to make an investigation. Wyclif was summoned before an ecclesiastical court in the chapel of the archbishop's palace at Lambeth (1378), but fearing inimical public sentiment the trial came to nothing. The chancellor at Oxford, under papal direction, forbade any one to defend the theses of Wyclif on the Lord's Supper at the university. Wyclif appealed from the chancellor to the king. The latter prohibited Wyclif from lecturing on the subjects in controversy. Instead he took up his pen, and thus began the period of unusual literary fruitfulness on the part of Wyclif, not merely in Latin, but also in English, which brought the masses of the people and a part of the nobility to his side.

Irritated by the course events had taken, Wyclif's old enemy, the archbishop of Canterbury, called an assembly of notables at London in the summer of the year 1382, which pronounced the doctrine of transubstantiation correct and the teaching of Wyclif as heretical. During the proceedings of this synod an earthquake threw entire London into a panic. Wyclif ever after referred to this synod as the "earthquake synod". The House of Commons of Parliament, however, annulled the action of the synod that bishops could arrest heretics. Wyclif finally resigned his professorship at Oxford and retired to Lutterworth. From here he carried on a vigorous campaign by means of tracts and in his sermons. During these last days he wrote his chief work, the "Dialogus", a copy of which Jerome of Prague made while at Oxford and brought to Bohemia.

Long before his retirement to Lutterworth Wyclif had begun his translation of the Bible — on the basis of the Latin Vulgate — into the English language. Realizing the great importance of the Scriptures, he wanted to make the Bible the common possession of all the people. His opponents protested vigorously against such an undertaking: "The jewel of the clergy has become the toy of the laity!" Nevertheless, Wyclif succeeded and not only the nobility, but large numbers of the middle class possessed it. In spite of the zeal with which the hierarchy sought to destroy it, and actually did do away with a large number of copies, there are still about 150 manuscripts in existence, which goes to show how widely the Bible had been circulated and proves Wyclif's success to make the Word of God common property of the people. And just as Luther's version had great influence upon the German language, so Wyclif's had a large effect upon the English language.

Wyclif died the 31st of December, 1384. His remains found no quiet in the grave. The Council of Constance took cognizance of Wyclif as well as of Huss and declared the former a stiff-necked heretic and under the ban of the Church. It was decreed that his books be burned and his remains exhumed. Martin V. twelve years later, in the year 1427, had the remains dug up, burned, and the ashes cast into the Swift which flows through Lutterworth. But his spirit lived on in Huss in Bohemia who adopted his doctrine of the Church fully and literally.

JOHN HUSS.

Even before the Hussite reformatory movement which received its strongest impulse from Wyclif's writings, voices of protest had been heard in Bohemia, not so much against the fundamental errors in doctrine as against the fruits of these errors as they showed themselves in the life of the Church. A distinguished priest by the name of John Milicz had preached against the immorality of the clergy and the laity with utmost severity and had converted one whole district of the city of Prague from a life of shame to one of honor and decency. His pupil, Matthias von Janow, the confessor of Emperor Charles IV., carried on his work with even greater zeal and success through his writings. He was the first to call the emperor's attention to the necessity of a reformation of the Church. And he persuaded a merchant of Prague by the name of Kreuz or Kric to erect a chapel which was called Bethlehem Chapel, since the Bread of Life was to be preached from its pulpit in the vernacular. Janow withdrew into seclusion, when the pope pronounced him an arrogant heretic, and died in the year 1394. There was, therefore, some spiritual leaven already active among the Bohemians when John Huss appeared upon the scene.

When John Huss was born is not known; the majority of writers are inclined to accept the year 1369. July sixth has been taken as his birthday,

but this rests upon a misunderstanding. It was the custom in the early Church to call the day of a martyr's death his birthday, viz., unto eternal life. And in Huss' case it was July 6, 1415. He was born in a small village called Hussinecz from which he took the name Johannes Hussinecz, more briefly Johann Hus, spelling his first name Jan.

He was born of humble parents and at the age of sixteen he entered the University of Prague, supported by a landed proprietor of his native village. The University of Prague which had been founded by Emperor Charles IV. at that time enjoyed a reputation almost equal to those of Paris and Bologna. In the year 1393 Huss received his degree of Bachelor of Arts, a year later he became Bachelor of Theology, and in the year 1396 Master of Arts. He was ordained priest in the year 1400 and in the following year became dean of the philosophical faculty. In the year 1402 he was rector of the university, being at the same time appointed preacher of Bethlehem Chapel, where he preached in the Czech language and gathered about him a congregation numbering many thousands.

During this period the Church was agitated and shattered by the great papal schism which began with the death of Pope Gregory XI. in the year 1378 and lasted until the year 1417. Some of the cardinals who had been embittered by Gregory's successor, Urban VI., left Rome for Avignon, France, where they elected Pope Clement VII. and declared the election of Pope Urban VI. invalid on account of coercion. The Church now had two popes fulminating against each other. Each had his own college of cardinals and thus protracted the schism by new papal elections. At this period of Huss' career Gregory XII. sat in Rome and Benedict XIII. in Avignon.

Emperor Charles IV. had been deprived of his imperial crown by the pope because of his profligate life, and now was merely king of Bohemia. King Wenceslaus, as he is now called, at first supported Gregory XII. But when the pope made no efforts to further his plans, he renounced him and called upon all the prelates of Bohemia to observe strict neutrality towards both popes and expected the same of the university. The archbishop of Prague, however, remained faithful to Gregory, and at the university only the Bohemian nation, with Huss as its leader, maintained a neutral position; while the Saxon, Bavarian, and Polish nations voted against the king. Incensed by this action Wenceslaus at the instigation of Huss and other Czech leaders published a decree that henceforth the Bohemian nation should have three votes in the affairs of the university, while the foreign nations should have but one vote collectively. This aroused the ire of the German doctors and students and they left Prague in the year 1409 to found the University of Leipzig. This constituted the downfall of the University of Prague, and, losing its international reputation, it was reduced to a mere Czech school. The citizens of Prague now charged Huss with the downfall of their university and no doubt not without some reason.

In the meantime, before all this took place, the doctrinal views of Wyclif had spread all over Bohemia by the many British students who attended the university. Huss at first was not favorably disposed to the views of the British heretic. But he did not entertain this attitude very long. It seems a close friend of his made him better acquainted with the writings of Wyclif. This friend was Jerome of Prague, of whom we have but scanty information though he was an

important factor later in the Hussite movement and was an ardent supporter of Huss when the latter was at the height of his career. Jerome of Prague was a man of wide learning and of great eloquence, who had traveled extensively. He took his master's degree at Prague, Oxford, Heidelberg, Paris and Cologne. While at Oxford he became intimately acquainted with the trend of thought of Wyclif. Wyclifism was constantly getting him into trouble at the different universities where he studied. It seems that Jerome made a copy of Wyclif's "Tria-



John Huss.

logus" and on his return to Prague brought the views of Wyclif to the notice of Huss who then took on a different attitude towards the British professor. As early as the year 1410 Jerome made a cautious speech at the university of Prague in favor of Wyclif's ideas. Jerome had to leave Prague again and on his second return to Prague he came out as the spirited advocate of Huss and his great eloquence made a deep impression wherever he went. And soon the opposition against him was just as keen as against Huss.

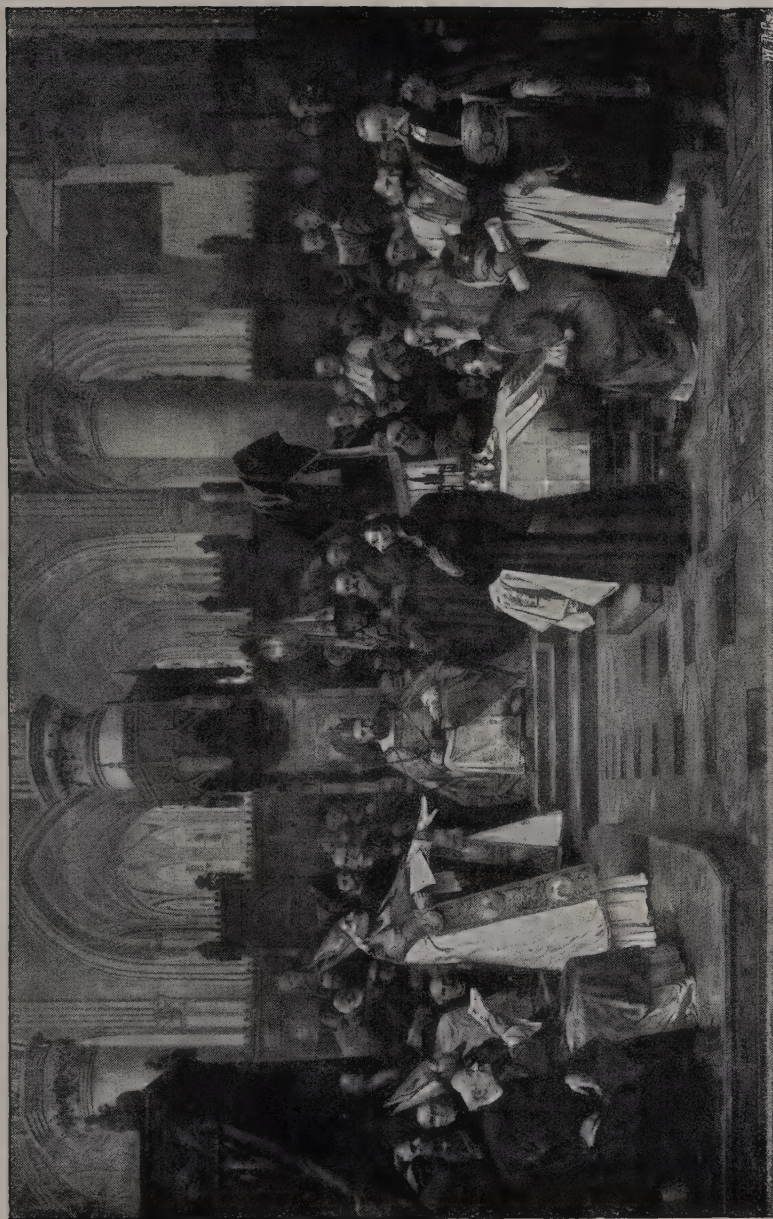
Huss as preacher of Bethlehem Chapel and as synodical preacher attracted large crowds and he became the leading figure of Bohemia. In studying the writings of Wyclif he had become imbued with the spirit of the British heretic and adopted his thoughts and ideas for his own conditions. In many of his sermons he reproduced Wyclif almost literally, attacking with relentless severity the vices of the people. His fame extended even to the clergy who looked favorably upon his efforts at reform as long as he hurled his invectives against the laity. But with the growth of his fame Huss became bolder in his sermons and gradually sallied forth with attacks upon the clergy. This roused the ire of the hierarchy, of course, and finally also cost him his favor with Sbinko, Archbishop of Prague, who deposed him as synodical preacher. Complaints against Huss' officiousness were brought before the king by the hierarchy. But Wenceslaus replied: "As long as Magister Huss preached against us laymen, you were delighted; now that your turn has come, you might as well make up your mind to make the best of it". Huss, seeing himself supported by the king, now fearlessly exposed the profligate life of the clergy. These sermons, however, were not altogether free from slander and abuse.

Sbinko ordered the writings of Wyclif burned, and about 200 Wyclifite manuscripts, besides the works of Matthias von Janow, were destroyed. Huss and his adherents were put under the ban. This caused a general commotion throughout Bohemia among all classes with riots at Prague. The archbishop became the object of public contempt. The government sided with Huss who continued to preach at Bethlehem Chapel, more church than chapel, and became increasingly bolder in his accusations against the Church. The king confiscated some of the revenues of the archbishop to indemnify the students whose books had been burnt.

Sbinko died in the year 1411 and with his death the religious movement in Bohemia took a new turn, — disputes concerning the sale of indulgences arose. In order to raise money for his war against the king of Naples, Pope John XXIII. had issued a bull for plenary indulgence which in Prague developed into a traffic in indulgences. Huss lifted his voice in protest against it. A disputation took place in the year 1412, to which the theological faculty of the university replied without success. The students of Prague ridiculed and contradicted the preachers of indulgences. Three young men were arrested because of their opposition and despite the protests of Huss were secretly beheaded. This action aroused the populace to fierce anger. In a public demonstration the bodies were conducted to Bethlehem Chapel, where Huss eulogised them as martyrs.

Complaints were now being brought before Pope John XXIII. who excommunicated Huss and pronounced the interdict against Prague. Huss appealed from the pope to Jesus Christ as the supreme Judge. This only intensified the excitement among the people, and in compliance with the wish

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Hus before the Council at Constance.

(After V. Brožíka.)

of the king Huss departed from Prague, staying at the castle of one of his protectors, where he wrote his work "On the Church" (*De Ecclesia*).

During this same period Emperor Sigismund (1387—1419) had prevailed upon the pope to convene a council at Constance. The emperor was eager to clear the country of the blemish of heresy and at the same time do away with the ugly papal schism. Huss likewise was glad to bring about harmony in Bohemia and followed the request of Sigismund to come to Constance. The emperor promised him safe-conduct to and from the council. Provided with testimonies concerning his orthodoxy from the papal inquisitor of Bohemia he arrived in Constance on November 3, 1414. When Huss left for the council Jerome of Prague, Huss' closest friend, assured him that if need be he would come to his assistance. Huss and his friends protested, but Jerome later kept his promise and arrived in Constance on April 4, 1415, when Huss had already been imprisoned for some time. Jerome's friends were apprised of his arrival in Constance without safe-conduct from the emperor. He was urged to leave the city at once. But Jerome only got as far as Hirschau on the Bohemian border, where he was seized and returned to Constance on May 23, 1415. He was immediately arraigned before the council and like Huss was subjected to a most rigorous imprisonment, in consequence of which he fell seriously ill.

On his arrival in Constance Huss at first was at liberty. A few weeks later, however, his opponents seized him, brought him first to the residence of a canon, and thence into the dungeon of the Dominican monastery. Sigismund who had just then arrived in Constance was greatly angered at the abuse of his promise of safe-conduct to Huss and threatened to leave the council. He was politely informed that if he left, the council would dissolve. Sigismund had to yield and Huss' fate was sealed. In the proceedings brought against Huss by a commission of three bishops appointed by the pope, the witnesses for the prosecution were heard, but the defence was denied a hearing. Huss was finally delivered to the archbishop of Constance who brought him to his castle, Gottlieben on the Rhine, where he languished 73 days, chained day and night, poorly fed, and tortured by disease. It was about this period that Jerome came to Constance, fled, and was brought to Constance and thrown into prison. But Huss' fate was decided before that of Jerome.

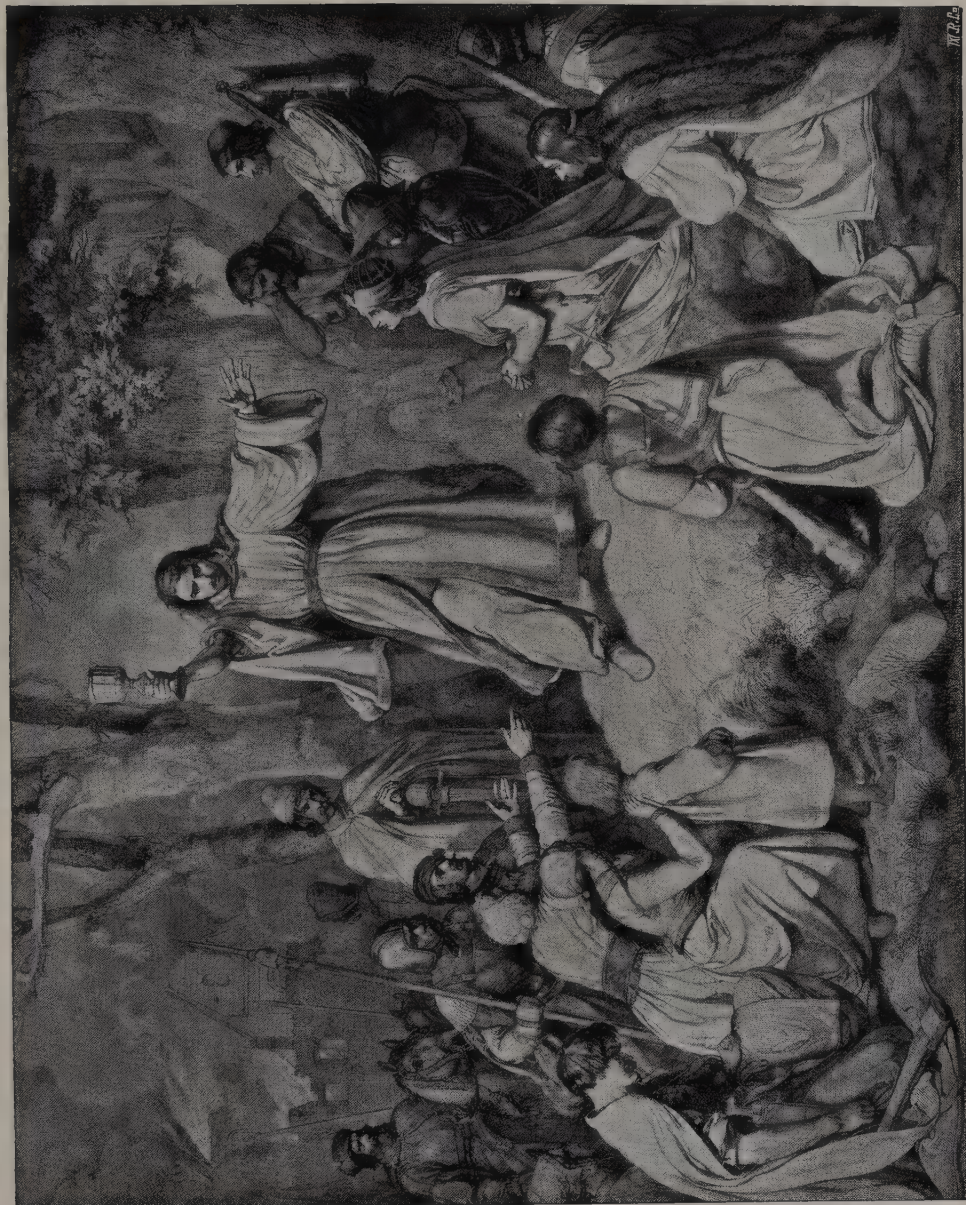
On June 5 Huss was brought back to Constance and given a trial. He again denied the charges brought against him and refused to recant, unless he were convinced from Scripture that he had erred. He admitted his admiration for Wyclif and hoped that his soul might some time attain to the same place where Wyclif's was. He was given a last trial before the council on June 8, when 39 sentences were read to him which had been taken from his writings. He declared again that he was willing to submit if it were proven to him from the Scriptures that he had erred. He demanded a fair trial. Several futile attempts were made to persuade him to recant.

On July 6, 1415 he was brought to the cathedral and formally sentenced to death in the presence of the entire council. During the reading of his sentence Huss loudly protested several times. His priestly regalia were taken from him, he was called a cursed Judas Iscariot, and then delivered to the secular powers for execution.

At the place of execution his hands were tied on his back to the stake and a chain fastened about his neck. Wood and straw were piled high about him so that it covered him to his neck. He was again asked if he would recant, which he heroically refused. When the torch was applied to the pyre, he began to chant the words: "O Christ, thou Son of God, have mercy upon me". When he began this for the third time, the wind blew the flames into his face and he died. His ashes were gathered and even the ground on which they had lain dug up and thrown into the Rhine, to prevent the Bohemians from worshipping his remains.

But the death of Huss had effect on Bohemia opposite to that which Sigismund had expected. The rage of the populace knew no bounds, and almost the entire population, from the nobility to the lowest classes, arose in protest. Jerome of Prague was still languishing in prison and awaiting his trial. But like Huss Jerome never got a fair trial. The Bohemians, too, felt that Jerome would eventually meet with the same fate as Huss. An emphatic protest was sent to the fathers of the council in behalf of Jerome, which other than arousing some grave misgivings among the members of the council had practically no result for Jerome. About two months after the death of Huss Jerome was taken out of his prison and in his weakened physical condition was induced to recant at two public sessions of the council. His opponents taking advantage of his physical condition made him write to the king of Bohemia that he was in full accord with the doctrines of the Church and that he denounced Huss and Wyclif as heretics. But this pitiful course did not secure his release. He was returned to prison, although some protested that he ought to be treated more humanely. But the fathers were not satisfied with Jerome's recantation. On May 23, 26, and 30, 1416 he was again brought before the council for trial, and at this time about 107 articles were read against him, containing some of the most ridiculous, fictitious accusations. On the second date he surprised the council by gathering all his strength and with unsurpassing eloquence he addressed the assembled council for six hours, boldly recanted his previous recantations, and held up before them the treacherous nature of their proceedings against Huss and himself. On May 30, 1416 he was condemned to death and turned over to the secular arm for execution. He was burned at the stake on the same spot where Huss had sealed his faith.

The bitterness of the Bohemians over the death of Huss and Jerome was indescribable. Disturbances broke out everywhere, which were directed against the clergy, especially against the monks. Even the archbishop had difficulty in saving himself from the rage of the people. All Bohemia felt



A Service during the Hussite Wars.

that the death of Huss and Jerome was a disgrace to the country. A league was formed by some lords, which the entire Hussite nobility joined, and soon a civil war was under way, when Martin V., the newly elected pope by the council, made efforts to eradicate completely the Hussite heresy. King Wenceslaus at last joined the forces of the pope and when he tried to enforce the papal measures against Hussism, a general commotion broke out which hastened his death by a paralytic stroke. His heir to the throne was Emperor Sigismund.

With the news of Wenceslaus' death a revolution swept over the entire country, for the Bohemians were determined not to recognize Sigismund as their king. Churches and monasteries were destroyed and general havoc was wrought with the Roman clergy. Sigismund could only get possession of the kingdom by force of arms. Martin V. called upon all Christians of the Occident to take up arms against the Hussites, and a twelve years' war followed in which the Hussite armies not only repelled the armies of the cru-



Jerome of Prague.

saders, but carried the war into the neighboring countries. The war was finally ended by the "Compactata" of Prague of the year 1433, wherein formal concessions were made to the Bohemians by the Council of Basel. But when the Hussite danger had passed over, Pius II. in the year 1462 abrogated the treaty and declared it not binding upon the Roman See.

In the year 1457 the Hussites formed the congregation or communion of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, which existed for a long time and later hailed the appearance of Luther, who was astonished to find so many points of agreement and carried on negotiations with them for some length of time.



THE REFORM COUNCILS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.



The humiliating defeat which Boniface VIII. had sustained in his relations with France had dealt a telling blow to the authority of the papacy. But its reputation suffered even more so in that the second pope after him was compelled to take up his residence in Avignon, France, where the popes staid from the year 1309 to 1377, coming totally under the influence of the king of France. This period is commonly called the Babylonian Captivity of the popes. Gregory XI. again established the papal residence at Rome, but after his death a split in the college of cardinals bestowed two popes upon the Church, one in Rome (Urban VI.) and the other in Avignon (Clement VII.), each having his own college of cardinals. This papal schism lasted from the year 1378 to the year 1417. Each pope banned and excommunicated the other, so that the whole Church was under the ban during nearly all of these forty years. And these reform councils of the fifteenth century are chiefly the result of this great papal schism.

The University of Paris through its chancellor, Peter d'Ailly, and its rector, Nicolaus de Clemangis, had made several efforts to abate the schism. Gregory XII. as well as Benedict XIII. refused to resign, although repeatedly declaring their willingness to do so in the interest of peace and unity. The cardinals finally tired of the strife and confusion invited all the representatives of the Church to a general council at Pisa in the year 1409 to consider the claims of both papal pretenders. A large number of church dignitaries, representatives of sacred orders, of universities, and kings and princes responded to the summons. Jean Gerson, now chancellor of the University of Paris, declared that, although a visible head of the Church at Rome was necessary, a council was superior to the pope. He also declared that a reformation of the Church, in its head and members, was absolutely necessary. The Council of Pisa adopted his position. Since both Gregory and Benedict pronounced the council heretical and invalid, and refused to attend, the council deposed them and in their place elected Alexander V. And when the time came to discuss the need of reform the new pope advised the council that a reformation at this time was impossible for lack of time and preparation. The council agreed with him and adjourned to meet three years hence. But later



Selling Indulgences.
(After J. M. Trenkwald.)

developments proved that neither the pope nor the council ever had in mind to undertake a reformation of the hierarchy. Despite the action of the Council of Pisa the schism was not removed. Gregory XII., supported by Naples and a part of Germany, and Benedict XIII., supported by Spain and Scotland, refused to recognize the decisions of the council and in consequence instead of a two-headed papacy the Church was now graced with a three-headed one!

Alexander V. died soon after the council in the year 1410 in Bologna, poisoned probably by Cardinal Cossa who then became his successor as John XXIII., by tricking the undecided cardinals and making himself pope. John convoked the next council, as had been decided at Pisa, in Rome in the year 1412. But he blocked the passes across the Alps, so that only a few Italian cardinals and bishops were in attendance. He then dissolved the council because there was not enough interest shown.

The University of Paris and Emperor Sigismund (1410—1437) thereupon emphatically demanded a new free and general council to effect a thorough reform of the Church, since protests were being voiced on all sides against the maladministration of John XXIII. The pope was hard pressed by the king of Naples and in a period of weakness permitted Sigismund to determine Constance as the place for the next council.

The Council of Constance (1414—1418) was convened for three purposes: to heal the papal schism, to examine the heresy of Wyclif and Huss, and to carry out a general reform of the Church in head and members.

Besides being an ecclesiastical assembly this council also took on the character of a general European congress, where many minor secular affairs were arranged and settled, which are of no importance here. The 30,000, on special occasions 80,000, strangers who gathered in the little city of Constance in this time presented a spectacle of pomp and splendor such as in the estimation of contemporary chroniclers had never before been seen on German soil. The pope with his retinue, 3 patriarchs, 33 cardinals, 20 archbishops, 326 bishops, 124 abbots, about 1800 priests, a large number of professors and doctors of theology, at times 5,000 monks, the emperor, princes, noblemen, ambassadors, and many other distinguished men were in attendance, followed by a large number of money-lenders, 346 strolling actors, and over 700 prostitutes. The pope himself rode into the city with great magnificence. The most prominent and most influential members of the council were Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson.

In the dispute as to which of the three points of the program should be taken up first, the emperor wanted the reform measures to receive first consideration, the pope insisted on the Hussite trouble being settled first. So they compromised by taking up the papal schism. John XXIII. from the outset endeavored to urge upon the council the view that this council was but a continuation of that of Pisa, which had condemned his rivals and elected

Alexander V., and that he was the legitimate successor and as such could not be deposed. But the council, with Sigismund and Gerson at the head, took the position that it possessed the supreme ecclesiastical authority in the Church and everyone, even the pope, must yield it obedience. The pope was accused of the most appalling crimes before a special commission, which prompted him to abdicate in the hope of being reelected and also to avoid his escapades being aired upon the floor of the council. But he soon became aware of his mistake and fled the city in the disguise of a groom, protested from Schaffhausen against the competency of the council and declared it dissolved. This at first created some confusion in Constance, but very few of the cardinals sided with John. In its fifth session on April 6, 1415 the council decreed that an ecumenical council, legally convened and fully representative of the Church, received its power directly from Christ and that therefore its decrees were obligatory on everybody, even on the pope.

On May 29 John XXIII. was deposed. He acquiesced in the decision of the council. He later fell into the hands of Sigismund who kept him under strict surveillance, first in the castle Gottlieben on the Rhine, where Huss then lay imprisoned, and later at Heidelberg. Some years later he was released by his successor in office and died in his sins in the year 1419 as cardinal bishop. — Gregory XII. had voluntarily abdicated. Benedict XIII. who, despite the personal efforts of Sigismund, would not abdicate, was deposed. His Spanish bishops finally forsook him and attended the council. Benedict died in the year 1424 with curses upon his lips for all the world which had stood against him.

The Bohemian affairs were treated with great thoroughness: Huss was burned July 6, 1415, Jerome of Prague May 30, 1416, and at the same time Wyclif was denounced as a heretic and it was ordered that his books should be burned and his remains dug up and burned and scattered. This last decree was not carried out until twelve years after the council. With all this thoroughness, however, the Hussite affair was not satisfactorily settled; it resulted in the Hussite wars as we have seen. The reform plans of the council, which the emperor, d'Ailly, and Gerson had urged so emphatically on the council, met with failure. Sigismund wished the question of reform discussed before the election of a new pope, but he was overruled. Martin V. was elected and he understood how to bury the whole affair of reform quietly and effectively by expressing grave doubts and with cautious procrastinations. And after the resolution was passed providing for another council after five years, a second seven years later, and thereafter every ten years, Martin V. quickly dissolved the council in the year 1418 and hurried off to Rome.

The pope did convoke a council five years later at Pavia which adjourned to Siena when the plague broke out and dwindled to nothing. The pope never attended the council giving the excuse that he was too busy. It ended without having accomplished anything.

The last of the reform councils of the fifteenth century was that of Basel (1431—1443). After the execution of Huss his followers greatly embarrassed the Roman Church and the German empire, and Pope Martin V. felt obliged to convene a council. The pope died shortly after the convocation, but his successor, Eugenius IV., confirmed it and sent his legate Cesarini to open the council in Basel. This council declared itself a continuation of the Council of Constance and therefore an ecumenical one with absolute authority, deriving its power directly from God, which therefore could be dissolved only by its own consent and resolution. The work of the council, however, lacked in effectiveness; the pope distrusted the Fathers of the council and these in turn distrusted the pope.

In the beginning of the year 1435 the council abolished the pallium money, the annates, the papal reservations, and some others of the richest sources of papal revenue, and declared them to be simony. This excited the fierce opposition of the whole army of Roman officials who in objecting to such reforms fought for their very existence. This vigorous spirit which the council manifested appeared a trifle too dangerous to the pope and he declared the council dissolved.

But the council at that time stood at the zenith of its power and was recognized by most governments. The authority of the council was also increased by the negotiations with the Hussites who had developed a most dangerous movement in Bohemia. Several representatives of the Hussites were invited to attend the council and the conferences with them resulted in a treaty in the year 1434, called the Compactata of Prague, embodying the principal demands of the Hussites, among others the use of the cup in the Lord's Supper by the laity. But the papacy never intended to abide by this agreement.

When Eugenius declared the council dissolved, he pronounced it in league with the devil, excommunicated its members, and convened a counter council at Ferrara, which he in the year 1439 removed to Florence, and in the year 1442 to Rome. But the Fathers of Basel continued in session and deposed the pope as a backsliding heretic. Under the direction of the able Cardinal d'Allemand it elected an antipope in the person of the Duke Amadeus of Savoy who took the name of Felix V. But the council gradually lost its prestige and ultimately almost all the governments sided with Eugenius. Felix V. found very little recognition. In the year 1448 the council decided to meet at Lausanne, where Felix had his residence. Felix was finally induced to abdicate to end the conflict and avoid another schism. Nicolas V. then became the successor of Eugenius who had died in the meantime. In the year 1449 the council decreed its dissolution.

Thus ended the great reform councils of the fifteenth century and the result was nil. But in spite of the failure of the councils to effect some reforms the belief that the Church was in need of reformation still persisted and an undercurrent of dissatisfaction was abroad in the lands. Apparently the authority

in the Church had been shifted from the pope to the councils, but this was only transient. The Council of Mantua in the year 1459 denounced any and every appeal from the pope to a council and the Lateran Council (1512—1517) again established the absolute authority of the pope under Julius II. and Leo X. The papal hierarchy seemed to have triumphed over the so-called reformatory councils and all efforts at a reformation of the Church in its head and members appeared to be effectually blocked, when God suddenly took a hand in the matter and sent His true Reformer, Dr. Martin Luther.



DR. MARTIN LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION.

* *

The Reformation, the greatest event in history since the introduction of Christianity, was primarily a religious movement, protesting against flagrant abuses in the Church, whose predominant note was a call to return to the primitive Scriptural basis of Christianity, of salvation by faith in Christ alone and not by works, pious acts, and outward religiousness. It was not a movement which came overnight. The waves of protest which swept over various parts of Europe in the centuries immediately preceding it, in England, France, Germany, Bohemia, Italy; individuals like Savonarola, Waldo, Wyclif, Huss and Jerome, the emperor and other secular princes; universities like that of Paris and Prague; the reformatory councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel; the invention of the printing press, the rise of national consciousness, the study of classical literature, and many other factors, — all this was to be preparatory to the Reformation which reached its preeminence in the heroically predominant figure of Martin Luther.

This Reformation, which God Himself brought about when all the efforts of princes, kings, emperors, councils, and universities failed, was not so much a protest against the external conditions of the Church, against the shamelessly vicious life led by both clergy and laity, as it was primarily a protest against the errors and false teachings which had established themselves within the Church over and above the cardinal object of Christ's work of redemption of all mankind by His blood. This is what makes the Reformation by Martin Luther so great that he not only discovered the diseases from which the Church suffered, but that he also found that the false teachings, the flagrant errors in doctrine were the principal and only source from which all the immorality, superstition, and idolatry of his and preceding ages had sprung.

And it was not Luther the man who performed this great salutary task for the Church and the world, but it was Luther the man of God. It was God who through the instrumentality of His servant Luther brought about that change which every other human agent had failed to achieve. Thus it was not Luther who made himself great by this Reformation, but the Lord who glorified Himself in Luther that the world might know and believe "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow of things in heaven and things in

earth and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father". Phil. 2: 10. 11.

Luther was born at Eisleben, Nov. 10, 1483. Like most men who have achieved greatness he rose from the peasantry. His parents, Hans Luther and Margareta (maiden name Ziegler), shortly after his birth removed to Mansfield. His father here became a miner and labored hard to gain a decent livelihood and to enable his children (Luther had three brothers and three sisters) to get a good education, and his mother endured many exhausting hardships in assisting the father to attain this end. Under such stern circumstances it was but natural that the discipline was severe. Luther never forgot



Luther's Parents.

the hard training which he underwent in his youth not only at home but in school as well. Luther was first sent to the Latin school at Mansfield, then to Magdeburg, and finally in the year 1498 to a school at Eisenach where his mother had some relatives, hoping that these might be of some aid financially. But herein the parents of Martin were disappointed. Instead, like other students, he was obliged to sing in the streets before the houses of the wealthy, earning thus a few pennies to assist his father in maintaining him at school. It was while thus engaged that Ursula, the wife of Kunz Cotta, a wealthy merchant of Eisenach, befriended him and took the boy into her home, an act of kindness which Luther never forgot and which has ever since endeared Frau Cotta to the hearts of the German people.

From Eisenach he went to the University of Erfurt in the year 1501, where

he studied under Trutvetter and Arnoldi, two able teachers in their day. This university at this time occupied a leading position among the institutions of learning in Germany and while here Luther made a thorough study of scholasticism a system of thought embracing the highest questions of knowledge and existence, which at this period was nothing but an abstruse mass of ecclesiastical thoughts and ideas. At the same time he was a diligent student of the ancient classics which he read, as Melancthon tells us, "not like boys who pick out words, but for the doctrines and pictures of life. The maxims and sentences of these writers were closely examined and because he had a tenacious memory, most of what he read was ever at his command". By diligent application to his studies he soon became the first of his class and the pride of the university, receiving his bachelor's degree in the year 1502 and three years later his master's degree. Proud of his son's attainments his father, whose hard labor the Lord had blessed with some property and a small business of his own, decided that he should become a lawyer and to that end provided his son with the necessary books. But the father's plans went awry.



Luther and Frau Cotta.

To understand the next step in Luther's life it is necessary to briefly outline what had been his religious education up to this time. His religious instruction had been a pitiful mixture of superstition and idolatry. He grew up in the darkness of papistic error, of course. By the strict training at home and at school he had received a high appreciation of right and wrong and a conscience keenly sensitive to every fault. By nature of a sunny disposition and a lover of nature he, a son of peasant ancestry, yearned to

enjoy nature and to hold communion with its visible forms. But his religious training had instilled in him a constant fear of the wrath of God which repressed his natural inclinations and made him depressed and in time morose. Brought up without any knowledge of the Bible he was totally ignorant of the joys, the confidence, and trust of the Christian faith. Christ to him was a fearful Judge whose anger he must appease by outward acts of piety and appeals to the Virgin Mary and the saints for intercession. He consequently had a narrow, distorted view of Christianity, which made him restless, always dissatisfied with himself, and in constant fear of punishment for his many failings. When twenty years of age and while at Erfurt he for the first time became acquainted with the Bible which he found to contain much more than the

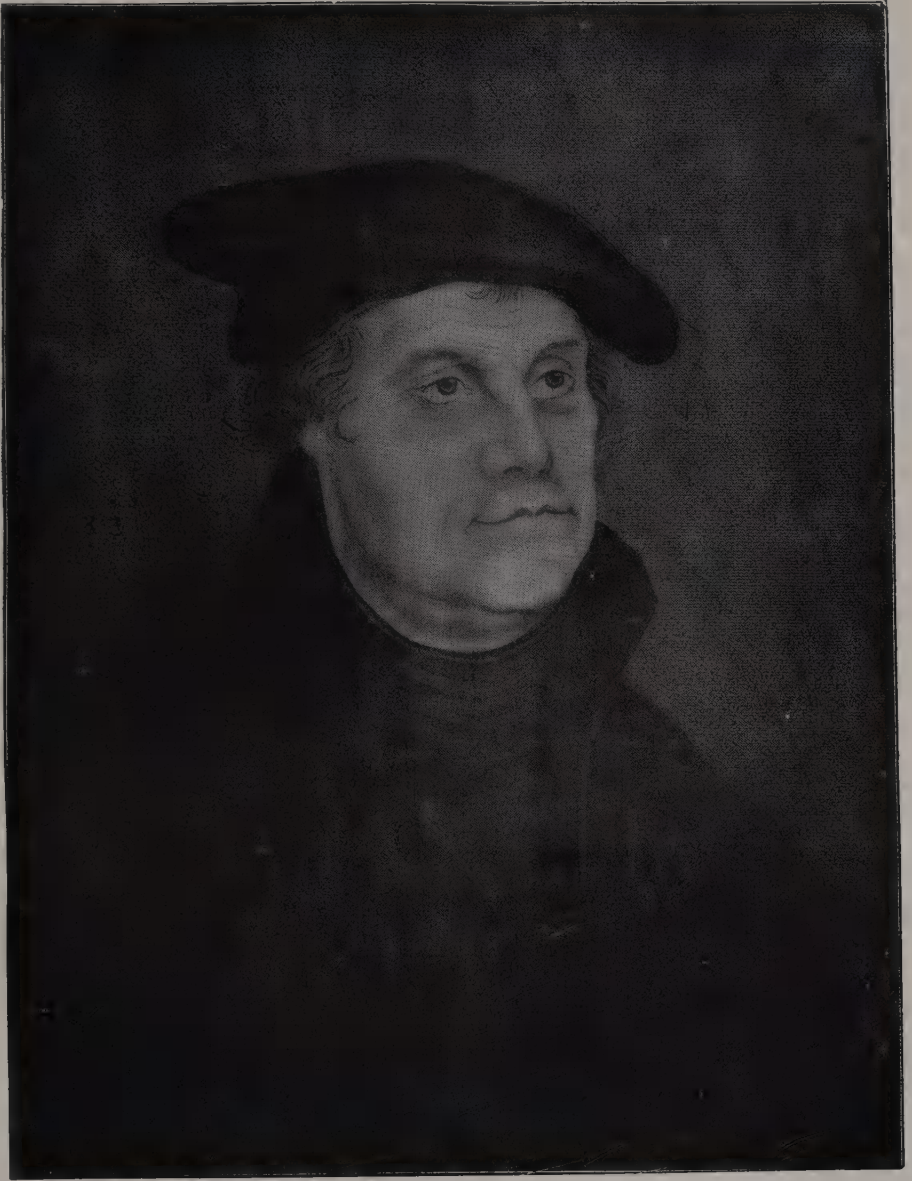


Johann von Staupitz.

Gospel and Epistle lessons which were read in the churches. Luther did not understand the Book at first and the more he read in it the more he became distressed in his mind. He interpreted the Bible in accordance with the distorted view of Christ which he had received at home and at school. And he finally stopped reading it in despair. The consciousness that he must make satisfaction for constantly violating the strict commands of the most holy Lord grew upon him with increasing pressure. While at Erfurt he was subject to periods of melancholy. The sudden death of a friend intensified his terror and shortly afterward surprised by a most severe thunderstorm while on his return from a visit to his parents he suddenly resolved to become

a monk if the Lord would spare him. And on July 17, 1505, he entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt to the grief of his father who became enraged that his son should become such a worthless wretch and bury himself in a life of idleness in a monastery, and to the chagrin of his friends at the university which in him lost its most illustrious student.

Luther, however, found no inward peace in the monastery and the severe self-imposed penances which he underwent left him a physical wreck. Following the advice of the vicar of the order, Johann von Staupitz, he studied the Scriptures. The kind words of his superior added to this second application to the Scriptures led him to regard the Word of God from a new viewpoint and he became a most diligent and thorough student of the Bible. In the year 1507 he was ordained to the priesthood. And in the following year, at the suggestion of Johann von Staupitz, the Elector Frederick the Wise, of Saxony, appointed Luther professor of philosophy at the newly founded university at Wittenberg. It now became Luther's duty to lecture



Martin Luther.

(After ■ Painting by L. Cranach.)

on Aristotelian philosophy, a duty which he thoroughly disliked. He had found such great pleasure in the study of the Scriptures that he would rather have lectured on theology. This wish was fulfilled when in the year 1509 he received the degree of "baccalaureus ad Biblia". From then on he applied himself studiously to the exposition of the Scriptures, beginning with the Psalms. Luther was a success as a teacher from the outset and his exposition of the Scriptures attracted wide attention and many students from all parts of Germany to his classroom. At the same time his radical change of view became evident. His religious views were in marked contrast to the current ecclesiastical thoughts of his day. Luther was beginning to feel a good deal of inward satisfaction in his study of the Scriptures. But he did not know that his views differed to any extent from those of the Church. Luther was a loyal son of the Church and it took him a long time to fully realize that the Christianity which he had learned from the Scriptures was different from that of the Church. The passage which he had found: "The just shall live by faith", made such a deep impression upon him that he could not rid himself of it. The passage seemed to echo through all his thoughts and it was only after he had posted his memorable theses in the year 1517 that he fully realized what this passage from the Scriptures meant to him.



Elector Frederick the Wise, of Saxony.

In the year 1510 he was recalled to Erfurt and from there sent to Rome in the interest of his order. Rome! At last he was to make a pilgrimage to the "fountain of righteousness", as it was called in Germany. What a sadly disappointed Luther, however, returned from the "Holy" City! Yet the remarkable thing is that Luther was not shaken the least bit in his confidence in the Church, despite the most undisguised infidelity and immorality with which he met in Rome. Later, indeed, Luther realized and often acknowledged

the great importance of this experience, saying that "he would not have missed it for a thousand florins".

On his return to Wittenberg he received the doctorate of theology on Oct. 18, 1512, although he protested vigorously to Johann von Staupitz that he was not worthy of such honor. And the words with which he accepted the degree are characteristic of his feelings at that time: "But I, Doctor Martin, am thereto called and forced, that I must become Doctor without my thanks from pure obedience", etc. In the same year he was called to be preacher at the church in Wittenberg, which he also accepted under protest. He had no confidence in himself as preacher, but he soon developed to be the greatest preacher of his day and the little church soon became too small for the audiences which he drew from all sides. His sermons were popular for the simple reason that they were clothed in plain simple words and in a language which the common folk could understand. His lectures too, attracted greater numbers than ever before. The true Gospel of salvation by grace through Jesus Christ grew on him with increasing force as the great fountain of divine wisdom and knowledge was opened to him and the refreshing waters of life began to pour forth from him upon his hearers. He began to teach and preach that forgiveness of sin was obtained not by outward works of righteousness, but was bestowed freely by grace upon all who fully believed in Christ alone who had fulfilled all the demands of the Law and borne all our sins.

While Luther was thus engaged and engrossed in the great Gospel truths, a Dominican monk by the name of John Tetzel began to preach the indulgence which the pope had recently issued. The activities of this monk near Wittenberg incited Luther to a polemical attitude, which resulted in his break with the Church, though this was not his original intention. Pope Leo X. issued the indulgence to promote the building of the Church of St. Peter at Rome. He commissioned the Elector-Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz to have the indulgence preached throughout Germany. Albrecht appointed John Tetzel to carry out this order. The indulgence was prohibited in Saxony, but Tetzel traveled up and down the border and carried on the traffic in indulgences with most inconceivable impudence and in a most scandalous manner, going even so far as to sell full forgiveness for sins not yet committed! Luther became fully aware of the evil effects of this traffic in the confessional, when his parishioners presented their indulgences and on the strength of them demanded absolution. Luther was horrified and began to preach openly against Tetzel and assailed the misuse of indulgences. The idea never entered Luther's mind that he was attacking the Church. He was of the sincere opinion that he fought for her honor, taking it for granted that the pope himself would condemn this abuse if he were properly informed. And in the next step which he makes he is fully conscious that he is championing the honor of the Church of which he fully believed himself a loyal son.

On the 31. of October, 1517, on that memorable day which ever since has

been celebrated among Lutherans as the birthday of the Reformation, Luther after serious deliberation and without consulting any of his colleagues or friends affixed to the doors of the castle church at Wittenberg his ninety-five theses under the title "Disputation to Explain the Virtue of Indulgences" and invited a public discussion. No one ever accepted the challenge and no discussion ever took place. Instead the theses were copied, translated, printed, and spread through-

out Germany and the rest of Europe in an incredibly short time. Luther never intended with his theses to protest against the Roman Church or any of her doctrines. His theses were not even directed against the indulgences themselves, but against their abuse by the unscrupulous Tetzel. Luther himself writes of this period: "I was then a monk and a mad papist and so submerged in the dogmas of the pope that I would have readily murdered any person who denied obedience to the pope". But before the Wittenberg professor became fully aware of his act the



John Tetzel.

theses had already created a tremendous sensation. His words found an echo in hundreds of thousands of hearts and at the same time conjured up a veritable deluge of attacks from apologists of the Church.

The Wittenberg Doctor suddenly found himself in a whirl of controversy with Tetzel, Prierias, Johann Eck, and several others, to all of whom he replied individually. The pope soon realized that it was more than a "monkish cloister brawl" and summoned Luther to appear in Rome within sixty days to give an account of himself. But here the Elector Frederick interposed. And since the pope needed the friendship of the elector in his political

plans he yielded to the wish of the elector and instead deputed the cardinal legate of Augsburg, Cajetan (or Gaeta), to deal with Luther. In response to the summons Luther went to Augsburg despite the warnings of his friends, arriving on Oct. 17, 1518. The aldermen of the city, to whom the elector had commended Luther, prevented him from meeting the legate until they three days later had obtained the imperial safe-conduct for him. Every means had in the meantime, however, been employed to persuade Luther to visit the legate without the safe-conduct. The negotiations between Luther and Cajetan came to naught after a three days' conference. Luther insisted that the legate convince him from Scriptures that he was wrong, while Cajetan volubly exclaimed that he should recant. He was unable to subdue the humble monk either by kindness or by threats and finally closed the conference in disgust with the words: "Recant or do not dare to come before my eyes again". Luther never troubled him with his presence again. But instead he appealed "*a Papa non bene informato ad melius informandum*", i. e. from the pope not well informed to the pope who ought to be better informed.

Once more in Wittenberg Luther entered upon his university duties with his customary zeal, having been made dean of the university during his absence. In the beginning of November the pope issued a bull directed in general against all those who protested against the sale of indulgences. In anticipation of his sentence of excommunication Luther made a formal appeal from the pope to a general council. The bold stand of the humble monk was now attracting universal attention and where in the beginning sympathy with him had been expressed only in tones of fear and warning, voices of approval were now being heard on all sides with increasing boldness. Luther had gained the hearts of the German people.

Cajetan's report of the result of the negotiations with Luther were not satisfactory to Rome. The political situation at this time made the elector of Saxony an important factor in Germany, for Emperor Maximilian had died and pending the election of the new emperor the elector of Saxony became the regent of the empire in Northern Germany. The pope could not afford to lose the friendship of the elector through an insignificant monk. So Leo X. sent his chamberlain, Carl von Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, to the elector to present him with the golden rose, in order to win his favor in the political situation and also to gain an understanding with him on the affair of Luther. Miltitz had hardly entered into Germany when he was convinced of the magnitude of the issue and that nothing could be effected by force. He accordingly treated Luther with the utmost kindness and a conciliatory tone was maintained throughout the proceedings. And although he did not obtain the desired recantation of Luther, he had at least Luther's promise to be silent if his opponents remained silent and to write to the pope, declaring his obedience to the Roman See. Miltitz left Altenburg where the conference had been held, feeling satisfied that he had accomplished something. At



Luther Burning the Papal Bull.
(After F. Catel.)

Leipzig he so sternly rebuked Tetzel that he died soon after of chagrin. Luther fulfilled his promises to the letter and the whole affair seemed to be at an end.

Dr. Eck, however, started it again by challenging Luther's colleague Carlstadt to a disputation at Leipzig. When Luther received the theses which Eck intended to make the basis of his discussion, he was astonished to find that Eck had quoted passage after passage from his writings which he intended to refute at the disputation. Luther became thoroughly aroused over this underhanded attack upon himself and he immediately announced his readiness to respond to this challenge. The disputation took place in the great reception hall of the castle of Duke George, lasting from the 27th of June to the 16th of July, 1519. The entire first week was devoted to the discussion of the freedom of the will by Carlstadt and Eck. On Monday, July 4th, the debate between Luther and Eck on the primacy of the pope began. Eck soon saw himself hopelessly outclassed by the wonderful learning and knowledge of the Scriptures of Luther. In the course of the debate, however, Eck charged Luther with holding Hussite opinions. Thoroughly aroused and indignant Luther repudiated the charge. But pressed by Eck why he does not publicly refute their errors he is led to make the statement, to the surprise of the great audience, that many of the articles of Huss are very Christian which the Church can not condemn. But all of the articles of Huss had been condemned by the Council of Constance! Luther hesitated. He struggled against the result of his premises into which he had been artfully led in the heat of the conflict by Eck. Finally Luther declared that councils could err and had erred in the case of Huss, by condemning these Christian articles.

The disputation was the event of the day and one of the great moments in Luther's life in the development of his convictions. By the thorough investigations and preparations which he had to make for the debate he gained so thorough an insight into the errors and corruptions in the Church, that his eyes gradually began to open to the necessity of separating himself from that institution. At the close of the debate both sides claimed the victory, but the ensuing correspondence between the two parties turned public opinion to the side of the Wittenberg scholars, while Eck pronounced them heretics under the name of Lutherans.

Soon after the debate Luther was to realize that he had indeed championed the cause of Huss. The Bohemians communicated with him and praised him: "What Huss was in Bohemia, you, Luther, are in Saxony". And among the gifts which he received from the Bohemians as tokens of esteem was a copy of Huss' treatise "On the Church". Luther's words, after studying the treatise, in a letter to his friend Spalatin in the early part of the year 1520 show us his amazement at the full realization of his position: "Without being aware of it, I have hitherto proclaimed and contended for all the doctrines of Huss; Johann Staupitz likewise. We are all Hussites without knowing it; in the end Paul and Augustine, too, are Hussites to the letter. Behold the monstrous

teachings which we have espoused independently of this Bohemian leader and teacher! I stand aghast with amazement and do not know what to think when I reflect on the terrible judgment of God upon mankind, because the manifest truth of the Gospel has been burned and stands condemned publicly these hundred years, and no one dare speak out against it! Woe to our country!

Luther on his return to Wittenberg took up the fight with increased energy. His writings were now widely circulated, being read even in France, England, and Italy as early as the year 1519. Dr. Eck, however, had gone to Rome to inform the pope of the damnable heresies which the Wittenberg monk was spreading abroad in Germany and elsewhere and that drastic measures were necessary to stem the tide. Aided by several other high dignitaries he strained every nerve to induce the pope to issue the papal ban against Luther. He achieved his end and the papal bull of excommunication was issued in Rome, June 15, 1520, and Eck was entrusted with its publication in Germany. When Luther first heard of it, he refused to believe it, declaring it to be a bit of fiction on the part of Eck. But he soon became aware that the bull was genuine, for in compliance with the papal order Luther's books were being burned in several places, at Cologne even in the presence of the emperor. But in Germany generally the bull was received with almost universal antipathy and in some places with open resistance. It was the last bull addressed to Latin Christendom as a whole and the first which was disobeyed by a large part. And instead of causing Luther and his friends to be burnt, it was burnt by Luther, an action unheard of in history and most electrifying in its effects upon all of Germany.

When Luther had to admit the genuineness of the bull which Eck published in Germany, he issued in rapid succession from July till October, 1520, his three most effective and chief works of the Reformation: "Address to the German Nobility", "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church", and "The Freedom of a Christian Man". They are the hardest blows ever dealt to the papal system by human pen and in them Luther committed himself to the greatest work since the days of the apostles. They were the trumpet calls by which he aroused the Church from her slumber, broke the yoke of papal tyranny, and reopened the fountain of God's Word to all the people and directed them to Christ as their only Master and Mediator.

The pope had ordered that all the books of Luther, good and bad without distinction, should be burned. Luther on his part showed the pope and the world that he, too, could burn books. He gave public notice of his intention, and on Dec. 10, 1520, at nine o'clock in the morning, in the presence of a large number of professors and students and people of the city, he solemnly committed the bull of excommunication together with some writings of Eck and Emser, the canon law, and the papal decretals to the flames with the words: "As thou (the pope) hast vexed the Holy One of the Lord, may the eternal fire vex thee!" (Josh. 7: 25.) This was perhaps the boldest and most



Luther at the Diet of Worms.

(After C. A. Schwerdgeburth.)

daring act in Luther's life, in which he defied the greatest power on earth before which even emperors, kings, and princes had quailed and bowed in reverence and awe. By this act Luther became the man of the hour and after passing through the ordeal of the Diet of Worms he became the leader of the forces of the Reformation.

In January of the following year he published his "Assertion" against the pope in which he maintained every article which had been condemned by the pope in his bull. On Jan. 3, 1521, the pope issued his second and final bull "Decet Romanum Pontificem", wherein Luther was denounced as a "declared heretic", and excommunication, the papal anathema, the eternal curse, the interdict, and every secular punishment which the canons of the Church decreed for heretics were hurled against Luther. And if Rome could have moved the emperor and the civil authorities of Germany in the year 1521 as she had done in the year 1415, the Diet of Worms would have been marked with an "auto da fé" as was the Council of Constance and Luther would have been the victim.

As far as Rome was concerned, final judgment had been passed on Luther and the papal legate Aleander at the Diet of Worms in the year 1521 called upon the secular arm to execute the decree of the Church. The Diet, however, determined to hear the man who had already been condemned by the pope. And when Aleander protested before the Diet in an address consuming three hours that Luther as a heretic was not worthy to be heard at the Diet, that he had risen in rebellion against the laws of the Church and the empire, that he had uttered blasphemies against the Council of Constance, he was threatened with the publication of one hundred and one grievances against the Roman See. He was obliged to acquiesce in the wish of the Diet. Luther at the time was occupied with polemics against several of his opponents when he received the summons on March 26, 1521, to appear before the Diet within twenty-one days, guaranteeing him safe-conduct to and from Worms.

Luther proceeded to Worms immediately with the imperial escort, regardless of the many warnings of his friends to consider the danger of such a step and to remember the fate of Huss. He was welcomed everywhere on the way with high honor and sympathy, arriving in Worms on April 16. He was brought before the Diet on the following day. When asked whether he acknowledged his writings which were laid before him and read by title, and whether he would unconditionally retract their contents, Luther affirmed the first, but for the second demand he asked time until the following day for consideration. On April 18 he again faced the august assemblage and made his memorable reply. He addressed the Diet for two hours in explanation of the contents of his writings which he had been called upon to retract. When he had finished, the emperor, understanding very little of the German language, requested him to repeat his words in Latin. Luther did so. Dr. Eck then demanded of him that he give an unconditional answer whether or no he would recant. This

elicited the famous declaration of Luther in the face of the combined civil and ecclesiastical powers of his age: "Unless I shall be convinced by the testimonies of the Scriptures or by clear reason. . . . I neither can nor will make any retraction, since it is neither safe nor honorable to act against conscience. Here I stand, I can not do otherwise, so help me God! Amen." Thereupon the Diet adjourned in a tumult. When Luther arrived at his lodging place he exclaimed: "I am through! I am through!"

During his stay in Worms many subtle attempts had been made to annul the imperial safe-conduct or to have him forfeit this guarantee. Efforts were even made to induce the emperor, Charles V., to annul the guarantee, because he was not bound to keep a promise given to a heretic. But the emperor had too much regard for his personal honor and his conscience at that time, knowing full well also the temper of the German people. In later years, however, he often regretted this, since this occasion here at Worms was the one and only time that he ever had Luther and his heresy in his power and he had failed to extirpate it then and there.

The Reformer left Worms on April 26, 1521. Shortly after he had gone the Worms Edict was published which declared him an outlaw and ordered his books to be burned. While on his way to Wittenberg, after having visited his parents, he was seized in the woodlands of Thuringia by some vizored knights of Elector Frederick and conveyed to the castle of Wartburg, the grim fortress crowning the hill behind Eisenach and overlooking miles and miles around the sable forests of Thuringia. Disguised as "Junker Georg", moustached, with feathered cap and green slashed doublet, and a sword (according to Lucas Cranach's portrait of "Master Georg") he was lost to the world outside, which was thrown into consternation over his sudden disappearance and lamented it as a piece of trickery on the part of his enemies.

Ten months he spent in exile at the Wartburg. Here began the constructive period of his career and the amount of work that he produced here is amazing, though one may say that the amount of literary work that he turned out at all times is astonishing. He took up the study of Greek and Hebrew more thoroughly, preached many sermons, carried on an enormous correspondence, and here wrote many of his best treatises. It was here in his "Patmos", as he calls it, that he completed the translation of the entire New Testament into the German language, which was printed in the year 1522 and spread with almost incredible rapidity throughout Germany with effects most alarming to the Roman prelates and clergy. And well might they be alarmed, for Luther put into the hands of the people that Word of God which had imbued and fortified him with such overmastering power and strength. Europe at this period was agog with excitement over the rapid turn of events in the last few years. There was the discovery of the new continent in the far West which to the European nations was just nineteen years old when Luther challenged Tetzl. At the Diet of Worms American natives were



Luther after His Address at the Diet of Worms.

(After the Painting by W. Beckmann.)

exhibited to Charles V. At the same the humble monk of Wittenberg had defied the whole world by his bold declaration at Worms. The printing press was achieving astonishing results and putting forth a veritable deluge of reading matter in the vernacular. Luther had been addressing the German people in their own language and practically everybody in Germany knew what the issue meant between Luther and the Church. Luther had made startling exposures of the Roman system of corruption and fraud and had resorted to the Scriptures for proofs of his statements. The Word of God was the paramount issue to him and he sent out call upon call to the German



The Wartburg.

nation to return to this Word which contained all the principles of Christianity. And to make this principle thoroughly operative among the people generally came the publication of the entire New Testament in the vernacular. We can understand under these circumstances why the New Testament found such rapid circulation throughout Germany. Everybody began to delve into the Word of God to find out whether it was really so as the monk claimed. And within a short time the tradesman in his booth, the traveler at the wayside-inn, the peasant behind his plow, the servant in the nursery, — in short, everyone began to study, to argue with the parish priest and to cite Bible texts to him, so that the unlearned clergy fled in alarm. And the hearts of the common folk laughed with glee at the consternation of the

clergy. The sweet message of the Gospel lifted the hearts of the oppressed masses to the warm balmy air of the new spring and a sigh of relief went up from hundreds of thousands of hearts as that huge engine of fraud and oppression constructed during a thousand years by an arrogant and perfidious clergy came to a dead stop. The Word became a power in the hearts of the people and no amount of effort on the part of emperor or pope was able to suppress it.

It is not extraordinary that the new and unaccustomed rare air of the Reformation with its freedom should make some men dizzy and giddy. The work of reform was not speedy enough for some people and it was the extravagant views of some agitators at Wittenberg which finally drew Luther from his seclusion on the Wartburg. A body of students and citizens began to interfere with the worship in the churches and carried on a campaign of destruction of church property. Dr. Carlstadt of the university joined them. Some fanatics from Zwickau increased the agitation by professing new revelations, circulating a doctrine of an internal word, a visible kingdom of Christ on earth, and rejecting infant baptism. The "heavenly prophets" of Zwickau they were called and later were known by the name of Anabaptists. Luther could not sit by idle and see these agitators damage the cause of the Reformation. Despite the injunction of the elector to remain at the Wartburg he hastened to Wittenberg, reaching home on March 6, 1522. On the following Sunday he began a series of eight sermons on the duty of the people in these critical times, which breathe the very spirit of tolerance. Not a word of denunciation or the least reference to the leaders of the agitation escaped his lips. Luther's calm presentation of the truth disarmed all opposition, brought the people back to their senses, and kept the movement within the limits of the divine Word. The Zwickau agitators were absent when Luther appeared upon the scene.

But this outbreak was not without its bad effects. Carlstadt in the year 1524 united with Thomas Münzer, the leader of the Zwickau fanatics, and it soon became Luther's task to war on the false spirit of freedom. The economic, social, and political condition of the peasantry before the Reformation had been miserable in the extreme. Six revolts had already occurred, which indicates how grievous the state of affairs must have been. When the Reformation was inaugurated and Luther spoke so boldly against the civil as well as the ecclesiastical powers in the interest of spiritual liberty, it was but natural that the peasants should become inspired with fresh hope of deliverance from their oppression. Thomas Münzer of Zwickau had a large share in inciting the peasants to new riots. Though Carlstadt shared Münzer's doctrinal views and had been invited by the latter to join and assist in these uprisings for the freedom of the peasants, it does not appear that he took any active part in them. When the Peasants' War broke out the Reformer was put to his wit's end to stem the tide. The demands which the peasants made



The Anabaptists at Muenster.

(After J. C. Baehr.)

to their lords in twelve articles were reasonable and Luther acknowledged them to be so. But he advised them not so seek redress by force. He also wrote to the "Princes and Lords", criticising them severely for their measures of oppression. But neither princes nor peasants listened to his advice; they preferred to fight out their bitter quarrel. The war lasted during the years 1524 and 1525. In a paper on "The Peasant Robbers and Murderers" Luther then declared that the rebels deserved death, not only for their perjury in breaking their oath of allegiance and for acts of violence, but also because they made the Gospel an excuse for their crimes. He called upon the lords to strictly enforce the law against the recalcitrants. Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Duke George, and the Elector of Saxony completely overcame the peasants in the bloody battle of Frankenhausen, May 15, 1525. Thomas Münzer was taken prisoner and executed on the spot. Luther has been severely criticised for his course in the Peasants' War. "But", as another has aptly stated it, "he had as little right to involve the Reformation in a revolution of the peasants as the apostles would have had if they had involved primitive Christianity in a war of the slaves against their masters".

During this most distressing and discouraging period of his life, when his power over the masses had most totally failed, Luther married Catherine von Bora on June 13, 1525, shortly after the death of Elector Frederick of Saxony. Two years previously Luther had arranged for the flight of nine nuns from the Nimbschen Convent, among whom was Catherine von Bora. The Reformer had no desire to marry. But for years he had maintained the sanctity of marriage and denied the validity of monastic vows. His great treatise "On Monastic Vows" which he wrote while at the Wartburg contained in detail his arguments on the subject. He had also encouraged a number of his associates to enter matrimony, who had formerly been priests and monks. But he himself had no such desire. When he had the nine nuns on his hands he tried to marry them to others. Catherine von Bora was twenty-six years of age and had spent ten years in the cloister. There had been an attachment between her and a Wittenberg student, but the affair had cooled much to the disappointment of Luther who had very much favored the match. Through Amsdorf Luther tried to arrange for another match, but the maiden had a very decided opinion as to whom she would marry. She would take either Amsdorf or Luther himself. And the result we know.

Luther's wife by her fine management of the home brightened the Reformer's last twenty-one years of his arduous life. The convent at Wittenberg, from which one by one the monks had departed under the influence of the new spirit, became the home of Luther by favor of the Elector John of Saxony. The Reformer's family life was a truly happy one, blessed with six children, three sons and three daughters. John (Hans), born in the year 1526, became a jurist and councillor at Weimar. Martin, born in the year 1531, studied theology, but because of his ill health never entered the ministry. He married

well and died young. Paul, born in the year 1533, was the most gifted of the three sons and became a physician, first to the Elector of Brandenburg and



Madame Luther.

later to the Elector of Saxony. His youngest daughter Margareta, married, a nobleman by the name of von Kunheim. The other two girls died early, Elizabeth when a year old and Magdalene, to whom Luther was singularly

against Zwingli. Zwingli defended his view in several works and Oecolampadius joined him. Luther himself did not write against Zwingli until the year 1526. This sacramentarian controversy between Luther and Zwingli resulted in the lamentable break between the two parties which ought to have been united by the closest bonds against the common enemy. The followers of Zwingli formed the Reformed Church.

Although at various times during this period it was resolved by the Catholic princes together with the emperor to enforce the Edict of Worms and extirpate Lutheranism, the political situation never gave the opponents of the Reformation a free hand to carry out their resolve. It was either war with the king of France or the pope or the Turks which hindered the emperor from taking any energetic steps against Lutheranism. These entanglements of the opponents of the Reformation which lasted for years gave the Reformers opportunity to progress in their work and do constructive work within the boundaries of the Evangelical states. The first thing done during this time was the composition of an order of public worship uniform throughout Saxony. Luther composed much of the music and the result of three weeks' labor is the famous "German Mass" of the year 1526. Together with the inauguration of this plan to bring order out of confusion among the churches went the order of the elector of Saxony (John the Steadfast, the brother of Frederick the Wise, was now Elector) for a general Church Visitation which was carried out during the years 1527 to 1529. Both Melanchthon and Luther were entrusted with this work and the results of their labors in this field were Melanchthon's "Instructions to the Visitors" and Luther's two Catechisms. These visitations had made Luther thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the clergy and the people, morally and intellectually. The Preface to the Small Catechism is very interesting reading in this respect.

Luther took a keen interest in the education of the masses and did all in his power to further the cause of education. As early as the year 1524 he had sent out his "Appeal to the Aldermen of all the German Cities in Behalf of Christian Schools", wherein he urged the necessity of educating both boys and girls in properly equipped schools. The result of this appeal had been that new life and most thorough reforms were introduced into the schools of Germany. Luther because of his efforts in this direction deserves, has a right to be called the "father and founder of popular education", while Melanchthon who most ably assisted him must justly be called the "Preceptor of Germany", for it was he who carried out the educational program launched by Luther. And Protestant Germany is still building on the educational foundations laid by these two men almost four hundred years ago.

At the conclusion of peace between the emperor and France and the treaty with the pope in the summer of the year 1529 the political situation again became threatening for the Protestants, as they were now called since the Diet of Spires, March, 1529. An armed alliance was formed to preserve the

rights of the Protestants over against the Catholic alliance which had been formed to extirpate the Lutheran heresy and all other innovations. It was important that the Protestant alliance should extend as far as possible and include all the reform elements, in the opinion of Landgrave Philip of Hesse. The efforts of the landgrave, however, were shattered by the refusal of the Lutheran theologians to form a league with the Zwinglians. In order to be able to present a united front, it was necessary according to the plan of the landgrave to have the Saxon and the Swiss come to some agreement and settle their differences. For that purpose he proposed a conference of theologians which was finally arranged to take place at Marburg from the first to the third of October, 1529. Luther and Melanchthon and several others appeared for the Lutheran side, and Zwingli and Oecolampadius for the Swiss. The chief doctrine under discussion was that of the Lord's Supper. Luther adhered to the plain words of Christ: "This is my body", which he wrote on the table with a piece of chalk, and rejected any and every metaphorical or figurative interpretation. It became evident from this conference that the fundamental difference between Luther and Zwingli lay in their estimate of reason. Luther declared that reason had no right of decision in questions of faith, while Zwingli maintained that God would not have us believe anything which we could not understand with our reason. To this Luther replied in his characteristic directness: "Whatever God has spoken is for our salvation, whether he command us to eat a crab-apple or to pick up a straw". The conference failed to bring about the desired result.

The closing scene of this conference, where Luther rejected the hand of Zwingli, offered with tears, repudiated the term "brethren", and remarked: "Our spirit is different from yours", which is so often related disparagingly of Luther, represents nothing more than that it was utterly impossible for Luther to join hands with the Zwinglians. The purpose of this conference had been to unite the Zwinglian and Lutheran parties in an alliance against the emperor. Had Luther under those circumstances accepted Zwingli's hand, he would have bound himself to defend the Zwinglian views of the Lord's Supper as well as his own. Since in Luther's mind the same spirit could not dwell in persons who simply believed the words of Christ and in those who vehemently combated it, it was but consistent on Luther's part that he should refuse the Zwinglian hand of fellowship.

No sooner had the Wittenberg theologians returned than the announcement was made that the emperor would open the Diet at Augsburg on April 8, 1530. The elector directed the Wittenberg theologians to draw up a concise statement of doctrines for which the Reformers stood and also the abuses in the Church against which they protested. On the basis of articles which had been previously formulated and accepted at Torgau and Schwabach a confession was completed which was to be presented at Augsburg to the emperor.

The elector arrived in Augsburg on May 2 accompanied by Melanchthon

Spalatin, Justus Jonas, and Agricola, while Luther, an outlaw by virtue of the Worms Edict, was left behind in the nearest Saxon city, Coburg, a most powerful citadel situated on a high cliff overhanging the city. The emperor's arrival from Italy was delayed six weeks. During this time Melanchthon employed all his time improving and making corrections, for which he twice solicited Luther's approval. Eck on his part had prepared four hundred and four theses which consisted not only of extracts from Luther's writ-



Diet of Augsburg.

ings, but from Zwingli's and Carlstadt's as well, with the object of making the Lutheran theologians responsible for all the heresies and innovations which had sprung up against the Roman Church. It was therefore very necessary that this Confession should be very explicit. The first matter brought before the Diet was the subject of religious dissensions in the empire. And on June 25, 1530, the result of Melanchthon's labors, the Augsburg Confession, was presented to the emperor, after it had been read in German before the entire assembly, although the emperor had demanded that it be read in Latin. Two copies of this Confession were handed to the emperor, one in German and the other in Latin. The German copy he gave to the Elector of Mainz for

the imperial archives and the Latin copy he retained for himself. The reading of it made a deep impression on many who had been very much opposed to the Reformation, many of whom, as they at that time stated, had been very much misinformed as to the objects and principles of the Reformation.

The emperor foreclosed all discussion of the subject by directing some Catholic theologians, chief among whom were Eck and Cochlaeus, to prepare a Confutation. After this had been read he considered the entire affair ended. Nevertheless negotiations were carried on between the Catholic and the Protestant parties of the Diet, but they led to no result. The final decree of the Diet was published on Nov. 19, 1530. A preliminary draft of it had been submitted to the Protestants and contained the statement that the Confession of the Protestants had been effectually refuted in the Confutation which had been prepared by the Catholic divines. The Protestants were given until April 15, 1531, to return to the Roman Church; at the close of that period forcible measures would be used to make them yield. When this decree was read on Sept. 22 the Protestants offered a protest against the assertion that they had been refuted and offered a counter-refutation, prepared by Melancthon, known as "The Apology of the Augsburg Confession". The emperor, however, declined to accept it. This "Apology" was later elaborated more fully and published the following spring together with the Augsburg Confession. At this Diet Zwingli also presented a Confession which made a most unfavorable impression and was answered by Eck in a most reckless style.

What was Luther doing during these proceedings at Augsburg? The Reformer carried on a constant correspondence between Augsburg and Coburg and was kept thoroughly informed regarding all the proceedings at the Diet. His letters were a steady stream of advice. They were filled with glowing terms of encouragement. Melancthon was rebuked by him for his timidity and almost in the next sentence praised for his great work in the arduous negotiations which he had carried on with the representatives of the Catholic party. At the same time he labored on an exposition of the 118. Psalm and wrote many excellent and instructing treatises. His undaunted courage and his indefatigable diligence was the marvel and admiration of those who staid with him at Coburg. It was here, we take it, that he composed the words as well as the music of his greatest hymn "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott". It is reported that either the Elector of Brandenburg or some other speaker declared during the spirited negotiations between the Catholic and the Protestant parties that if the Elector of Saxony would not desist from supporting the new Lutheran doctrine His Majesty would persecute him and his followers in their countries and people, body and life, honor and goods, even women and children. (Gieseler, Vol. IV, p. 142, Note 9.) Luther's great hymn breathes bold defiance against any such threat on the part of his enemies, its every word, one may say, is a manifestation of his overwhelmingly inspiring trust and confidence in his "mighty fortress", his Lord and God,

upon whom he relied when he sent those letters to Augsburg from his impregnable fortress at Coburg.

Luther, we may add in this connection, wrote thirty-seven hymns in all at various periods. Some of them were original, some translations from the Latin, others paraphrases or versions of Psalms or other portions of Scriptures, still others revisions of older German hymns. They all display an extraordinary command of the German language, great power and depth of spirit. Together with his translation of the Bible, which he completed in the year 1534, his hymns have become the household treasure of the German people in times of peace and of war and have been translated into many languages. For his contributions to the hymns of the Christian Church he deserves the thanks of the entire Christian world. Besides writing hymns Luther also compiled nine hymnals. — Likewise his translation of the Bible into the German language, to which he devoted seventeen years of his life, has brought untold blessings to the Christian Church. Considering the meagre assistance which he had from inadequate lexicons and the very unsatisfactory apparatus at his disposal, it is a monumental achievement and must be classed as one of the great marvels which God wrought through His indefatigable servant. Through this translation Luther became the founder and builder of the modern classical German language.

Although under the political circumstances it did not appear that the Catholic party of the Diet of Augsburg could carry out its threat against the Protestants, it nevertheless seemed advisable for the latter to put themselves in a defensive position. The emperor in the meanwhile had succeeded in having his brother Ferdinand elected "King of the Romans" and had charged him with administrative authority over the affairs of Germany. Against this move the Elector of Saxony had protested, but to no avail. At a congress of Lutheran princes and states at Schmalkalden an alliance was formed on March 29, 1531, which became known as the Smalkald League, which soon gained in prestige when treaties and agreements were made with other princes and states. Under these circumstances the emperor did not dare to carry out the threat of the final decree of the Diet of Augsburg. In the next six years the League took on an extensive form and became a formidable alliance over against the emperor. Luther's advice was constantly in demand and it is somewhat remarkable that the Reformer could keep a clear head in these negotiations. But his chief object was always to avoid an open break with the emperor and the resultant war which everyone seemed to expect.

At last the long delayed council which the emperor had promised he would persuade the pope to convene was in prospect. While various negotiations were going on in preparation for this council Luther was again entering into negotiations with some representatives of several cities of southern Germany who held Zwinglian views with respect to the Lord's Supper. Bucer was the leader who dealt with Luther. Luther at this time was subject to peri-



Brother Martin.



Dr. Martin Luther.



Squire George.

odical attacks of illness, which had come upon him with increasing regularity and intensity since his stay at Coburg, so that these negotiations were carried on under great difficulties. After passing several critical stages they reached a successful termination in the Wittenberg Concord which was accepted by both parties.

When the papal bull announcing the convening of a council at Mantua reached Germany, it was received with disappointment and disfavor. The Smalkald League was called to meet at Schmalkalden in February, 1537, and Luther was directed to prepare a paper setting forth the doctrinal position of the League. These articles are the so-called "Smalkald Articles" as they are found among the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church today. They were signed by the theologians of Wittenberg and sent to Schmalkalden. Luther also came to Schmalkalden. A few days after his arrival he was seized with a severe attack of calculus which lasted for eight days. Luther believed his death near and begged to be brought back to Wittenberg. He suffered agonizing pains on the way, but shortly before he reached Wittenberg the pains left him. On the way Luther made his will and every preparation for his funeral, but he reached home nevertheless, though in a very weakened condition. The articles which he had prepared were never brought before the convention at Schmalkalden and against the advice of Luther the princes declined to attend the council at Mantua, because it was not held on German soil. In the year 1539 Luther published his elaborate treatise "Of Councils and the Church".

Despite his poor physical condition Luther labored on incessantly. But he was aging rapidly and he felt that his end was near. It is not necessary to go into further details as to the subsequent proceedings that were carried on between the Catholic and the Protestant parties and the negotiations between the Zwinglians and the Wittenbergers during these last years of Luther's life. He had to experience many bitter trials and these with his increasing illness made him more and more irritable. His last great work he completed in the year 1545, bearing the caustic title "Against the Papacy at Rome, Instituted by the Devil". Scarcely had it been published when a pamphlet from Italy came to hand, giving an account of Luther's death. It related how Luther had died shortly after having received the sacrament and that his body had been placed on the altar. After the burial a terrific storm arose and the communion wafer was seen suspended in the air. During the next night there was a great noise at the grave which was found empty, emitting such stifling sulphurous fumes that none could approach it. In reply Luther republished the pamphlet, stating in a preface that it might be regarded as a huge joke, if it were not so sacrilegious. At the close of the same year he completed his lectures on Genesis at the university with the words: "I can do no more. I am weak. God grant me a blessed end!"

In January of the year 1546 Luther went to Eisleben on the invitation of the two counts of Mansfeld to settle a dispute. By the tedious processes of the law the case was prolonged to the intense irritation of Luther who

several times was tempted to end the matter by an abrupt departure. Luther was ill and from the letters which he wrote to his wife and Melanchthon we gather that he felt his end approaching. On the evening of February 17 he was restless and complained of a heavy oppression of the chest. He retired at eight o'clock after taking the medicine which the physicians had prescribed for him. He awoke at ten o'clock and spoke with some of his friends. He again slept until one o'clock when he awoke suffering intense pain. To Dr. Jonas he remarked that he believed he would die in Eisleben where he had been born and baptized. He then prayed fervently as he had done several times during the evening before he retired, commending his soul to his Master, and lay quietly without saying another word, with folded hands and closed eyes. Becoming anxious as to what this silence portended both Dr. Jonas and Coelius shook him and spoke to him in a loud voice: "Reverend Father, are you ready to die in the faith of your Lord Jesus Christ and in the doctrine which you have preached in His name?" Luther's answer was a clear and distinct "Yes". Thereupon he turned upon his side and fell asleep, never to awake again in this life, breathing his last shortly before three o'clock in the morning of the eighteenth of February, 1546.

With the dawn of day a messenger was hurried over the highways of Saxony to Wittenberg, delivering a full report of this last, sad scene to the elector and the university, anticipating the malicious reports that might be circulated regarding the Reformer's end, as had already been done even before his death. Luther's corpse was then conveyed to Wittenberg, escorted by an illustrious guard of honor with the two counts of Mansfeld in the lead. Everywhere the procession was greeted with expressions of grief and when it entered Wittenberg the whole population turned out to pay its respects. At the castle church Bugenhagen preached the sermon from the text I. Thess. 4: 13-18. Melanchthon, standing by the side of the casket, delivered a most eloquent as well as tender and loyal tribute to his friend. And at the foot of the pulpit from which he had so often preached his mighty sermons Luther's body found its last resting place.

Four hundred years will soon have passed since all these great events took place, but the sands of time have not been able to cover the grandeur of Luther's personality and the greatness of his work, vested as it was in the power on which the great Reformer placed his sole reliance in all the conflicts of his lifetime, viz., the power of the living Word of God. So long as this Word shall endure, so long shall also Luther's message endure because it is the very Word of God. Not only his friends, but his foes in very particular have been compelled to acknowledge the magnitude, not of the glory of Luther, but of the glory of our majestic Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in Luther. "To God alone be glory!" was Luther's watchword and it must ever remain the watchword of the Lutheran Church, indeed of the entire Christian Church. It was not the Reformer's aim, wish or desire to formulate a "Lutheran" Church so

much as it was to reclaim the Bible from beneath the rubbish heap of human traditions and musty philosophical speculations, which Bible he knew by an abundance of personal experience to be the power to reestablish the primitive, apostolic standpoint of Christianity. It was for the "Christian" Church that he labored and spent all the energies of his life. The elevation of the glory of God above the glory of man and faith in the redemption of Jesus Christ above faith in the works and virtues of man: this was Luther's message, the inspiration of which gave him the great power and endurance to perform the duties incumbent upon him in the great Reformation of the Church.

If one with gigantic painter's brush could throw upon an enormous canvas the great events, the magnificent scenes as well as the horrible, of the centuries in the history of the world after the age of the apostles of Christ, the one outstanding scene, no Roman Catholic nor

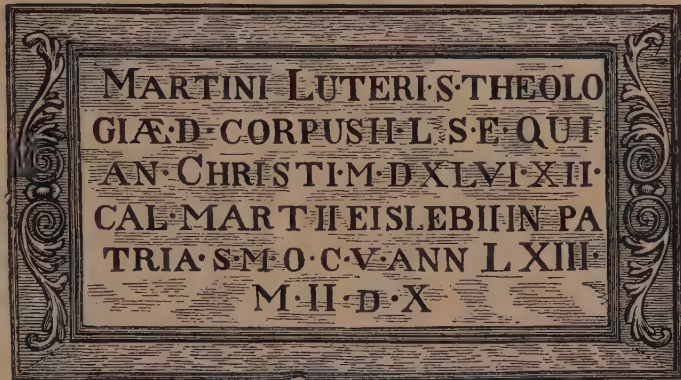


PLATE ON LUTHER'S GRAVE.

Protestant historian of whatever shade of opinion can deny, would be and must be the majestic and eloquent period of the Reformation in the center of which stands the indomitable, ponderous, overwhelming figure of the great Reformer under the shadow of the Almighty imbued with whose power he sends forth the mighty flashes of the Word of God as a power unto salvation for all men, extending its influences not only to his time and age but to practically every kindred and tongue, far down the highways and byways of the last four centuries. Luther was not perfect, he was no saint and never pretended to be one. He had his faults like every other mortal and if convinced of error he was not ashamed to admit it and to reproach himself for it. Unable to discredit the man's great work because of his surpassing knowledge of the Scriptures his enemies have seized every opportunity before his death and even more so after his death to enlarge upon his human faults and infirmities and disparage his character. It was ever thus. It is the mean resort of cheap and unscrupulous apologists when they find themselves baffled by the overwhelming power of the man's arguments. But Luther's foes may caricature his human faults to their heart's content, these can never overshadow the nobleness and grandeur of his work in the Church, the loftiness of his faith in his Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and his unquestioning submission to the authority of the Scriptures rather than to the authority of men.



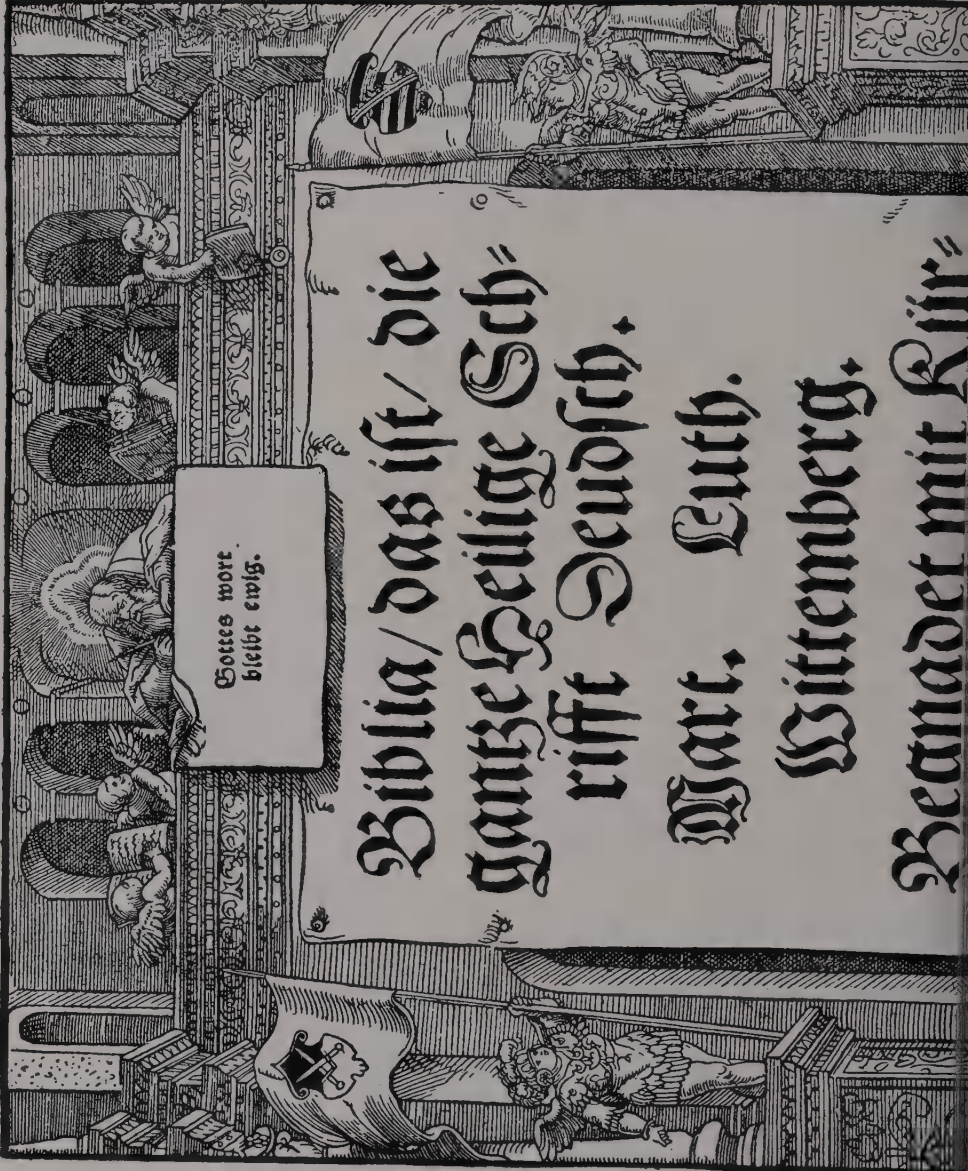
THE SWISS REFORMATION.

* *

The astounding declarations which the Professor of Wittenberg made when he unconsciously inaugurated the great Reformation in the year 1517 had no doubt been received with expressions of fear and doubt whether the humble Wittenberger would be able to maintain his bold stand against the civil and ecclesiastical powers of his age. But by the year 1521, when the Reformer came out of the ordeal of the Diet of Worms unscathed, all doubt and skepticism were dispelled and his influence extended far and wide, far beyond the borders of Saxony, indeed, far beyond the boundaries of Germany. The writings of Luther were read in England, France, and Italy as early as the year 1519 and undoubtedly they were read in Switzerland also at this time. The famous humanist Erasmus who had come to Basel in the year 1521 to spend the rest of his life there also brought reformatory influences into Switzerland by his satirical attacks on the loose life of the Church which further aided the cause of the Reformation in Switzerland. There were, therefore, influences abroad among the sturdy people of the lofty Alps which had well prepared the way for the Reformation when Zwingli came into the national life of the Swiss cantons in the year 1519. Zwingli perhaps was unacquainted with the great movement in Germany up to the year 1519, when he says that he first heard of a work by the German Reformer on indulgences. Nevertheless it can not be denied that the declarations of the ponderous German were more than hearsay when Zwingli clashed with the Roman ecclesiastics.

ULRICH ZWINGLI.

Ulrich or Huldreich Zwingli, the leader of the German Swiss Reformation, was born about seven weeks after Luther, on Jan. 1, 1484, at Wildhaus, Switzerland. His father, Ulrich Zwingli, was the chief magistrate of the village. His mother's maiden name was Margareta Meili and her brother was abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Fischingen. An uncle from his father's side since the year 1487 was pastor and dean of the parish of Wesen, where Zwingli in the village school received his rudimentary education. He proved himself a gifted lad and at the age of ten was sent to a



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Wittenberg.

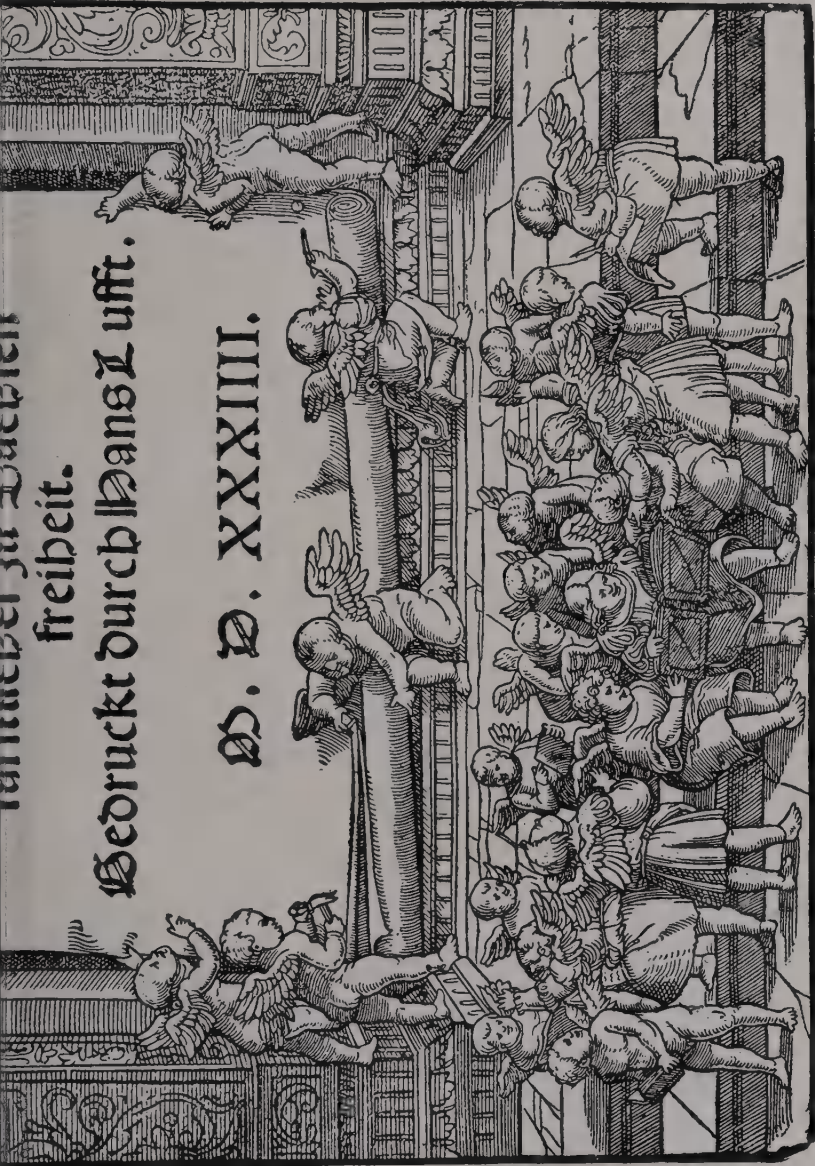
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Bedruckt durch Hans Lufft.

M. D. XXXIII.



Title-page of the First Edition of Luther's Complete Bible

Wittenberg, 1534.

(Original Size.)

school at Basel, then the seat of humanism. Zwingli's rapid progress attracted the attention of his teachers who persuaded his father to send him to the Latin school at Bern, where his teacher Wölflin (Lupulus) induced him to study the ancient classics and the history of his own country. The knowledge acquired in these studies exerted a great deal of influence on his later reformatory ideas. Disapproving of the efforts of the Dominican monks of Bern, to gain the distinguished young student for their order, his father sent him to the University of Vienna in the year 1499. Completing his philosophical studies he returned to Basel in the year 1502. In the next four years he made his B. A. and M. A. degrees and in the year 1506 accepted the call to be pastor of the large parish at Glarus, which position he occupied for ten years, spending most of his time in study.

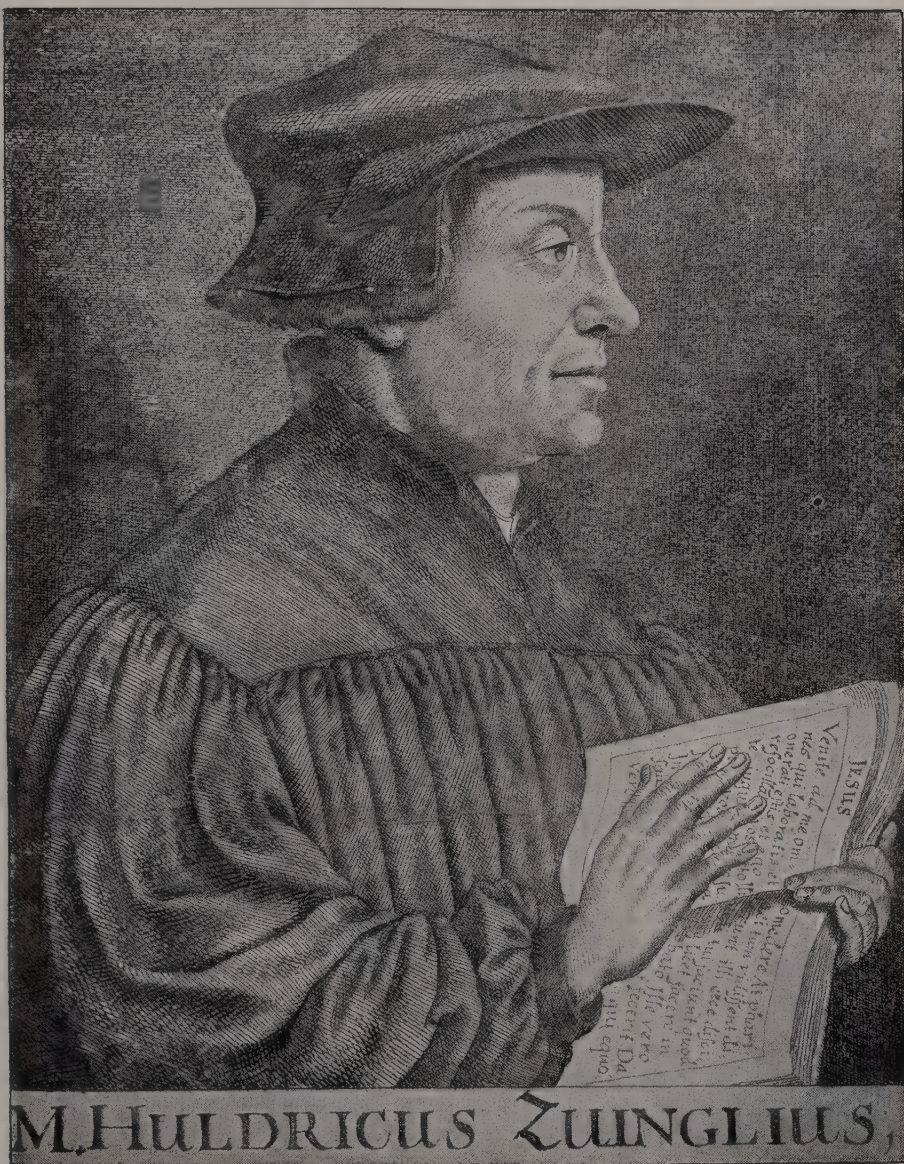
As pastor at Glarus Zwingli was a humanist and the result of his labors in the interest of classic science was the Latin school which the congregation founded on his advice and of which he made a success. He was popular during the first years of his pastorate and developed into an eloquent preacher. The moral condition of the Swiss clergy was as bad here as anywhere else in the Roman Empire, and it is against this corruption that he directed his first sermons. Erasmus had a great deal to do with his religious development. Zwingli had read a great deal in the writings of the king of humanists, Erasmus, and admired him greatly. Erasmus was born in Rotterdam. He had studied in Paris and Cologne, had been several years in England, again six years in France, then in the Netherlands and from the years 1506 to 1509 in Italy. He spent five years more in England (at Cambridge), six more years in the Netherlands, and finally settled in Basel in the year 1521, where Zwingli came in touch with him. Erasmus exposed the frauds of the Roman Church with relentless satire and assailed the ignorance and immorality of the monks. He wanted a reformation of the Church, but he lacked the overwhelming power of faith in the Word of God to accomplish such a change. Christ to him was not so much a Savior and Redeemer as a model of virtue. He hoped to attain a reformation of the Church by means of the sciences and education. It was his lifelong conviction that what was needed to regenerate Europe was sound learning applied fearlessly and frankly to the public administration of Church and State. But this "Erasmian Reformation" had one great fault: it failed to offer any tangible methods of applying these principles to existing conditions. Throughout his life he maintained a vacillating attitude towards all issues. In all his criticisms of clerical follies and abuses he always carefully guarded himself with protests that he was not attacking church institutions themselves and held no enmity against the persons of churchmen. The Lutheran movement in Germany with the publication of the New Testament in the vernacular in the year 1522 put his attitude to the severest test. The issue between the Roman Church and European society became so clear that no prominent man could quite escape the obli-

gation to range himself on one side or the other. Erasmus, then at the height of his fame, was inevitably called upon to take sides, but partisanship was foreign to his nature and habits. When Luther, for whom he had the greatest respect, while the German greatly admired the superior learning of Erasmus, called upon the king of humanists to join the Lutheran party, he declined with expressions of regret to commit himself to any party attitude, which, of course, aroused the ire of Luther and prompted him to criticise severely his avoidance of responsibility, characterizing it as cowardice.

This brief characterisation of Erasmus is necessary at this point, in order to understand the humanistic tendencies of Zwingli. The Swiss Reformer was a great admirer of Erasmus while at Glarus and it is no doubt due to Erasmus' attacks upon the existing conditions in the Church that Zwingli acquainted himself with the Bible. Added to that came the traffic in indulgences by a certain Samson, whom he vigorously opposed, which also led him to investigate the Biblical foundation for all these doctrines. Zwingli's development while at Glarus is expressed fitly in his own words of the year 1523 when he writes that he read a book of Erasmus of Rotterdam, "in which Jesus complains that men do not seek all good things from Him, whereas He is a fountain of all good. Then I thought, if this be the case, why do we seek help from the creature? I began to search the Scripture and the works of the Fathers, whether I would find there any certain information with regard to prayer to saints. In short, I found nothing of it in the Bible at all; among the ancient writers I found it in some and not in others".

There is no such spiritual struggle in Zwingli as we find it in Luther during this same time, no terror because of futile efforts to satisfy the demands of a holy and righteous God. Neither had Zwingli such a keen sense of right and wrong and one can not say that his moral character was without blemish like that of Luther. Later Zwingli deeply regretted his moral transgressions and led an unsullied life. Zwingli's testimony while at Glarus against the abuses in the Church was not made from a deep conviction of the power of the Word of God to awaken the people to the evils under which they suffered, but was more or less a development of the Erasmian educational plan.

The Swiss Reformation by Zwingli was more political than religious in character, he was more patriot than theologian. His reformatory efforts really began with the closing years of his pastorate at Glarus, when he protested against the hiring out of the Swiss as soldiers in the armies of foreign lords and princes. The evil effects of this sort of traffic began to tell when these mercenaries returned from these numerous camps with corrupted morals and demoralized the Swiss people at home. Other patriots had already protested against this sort of traffic and Zwingli while at Glarus joined them, using all the influence of his position against this evil. He thus incurred the ill-will of some of the prominent people of his parish who had large interests in this traffic and he had to accept the call to Maria Einsiedeln in the year 1516.



Ulric Zwingli.

Here he applied himself studiously to the study of Scripture in the original language, the New Testament in particular. He began to discuss the moral corruption of the Church in clergy and theology. He exalted the Bible above the Church as guide to the truth and Jesus Christ above the Virgin Mary as intercessor with the Father. He told the pilgrims who annually came to Maria Einsiedeln in large numbers, attracted by celebrated relics, that prayers said at home were just as effective as those said at relics and shrines. The natural result was that pilgrimages to Einsiedeln became less and less frequent. Yet the ecclesiastics of Einsiedeln raised no objections to his activities. They were more or less pleased with his work.

Thus when he received the call to fill the position of Leutpriest (pastor and preacher) at the Great Minster of Zurich in the year 1518 he was already famous throughout almost entire Switzerland and parts of southern Germany. One does not notice, however, that the study of Scripture had any appreciable effect on his life morally. Indeed, he entered upon his position in Zurich, January, 1519, as a confessedly libidinous man at the age of thirty-five. Zwingli was a great and popular preacher in Zurich and was in very great favor with the magistracy of the city. This support of the civil author-



Erasmus.

ities gave him a great deal of confidence in himself and in the carrying out of several reform ideas. He thus began to inaugurate a number of reforms, though very cautiously. Samson who had again come within Zwingli's sphere of activities was successfully opposed and by order of the city council of Zurich banished from the neighborhood and advised not to return. At this period Luther's voice was beginning to be heard also in the Swiss cantons with increasing loudness and emphasis. Zwingli always pretended that he knew very little of Luther during this period, though admitting that he had heard of a work by Luther on indulgences, referring evidently to the Theses

of the year 1517. Luther's attacks on the existing ecclesiastical conditions were bringing all-important questions before the public which Zwingli could not ignore, and no doubt Luther's deep conviction of the truth of God's Word above the word of a pope had its telling effects upon Zwingli. For Zwingli now also began to attack these several ordinances of the Church which he discovered were not founded in Scripture. Thus he assailed the rule of fasting as purely human and not at all obligatory. In several places this rule was transgressed on the basis of Zwingli's arguments. The people began to find some satisfaction in his way of preaching and carried out some of his conclusions which, of course, began to alarm the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics. Though the bishop of Constance had an investigation made at Zurich, nothing was done. Zwingli was too popular. This occurrence prompted him to write what is considered his first reformatory work, "Von Erkiesen und Freyheit der Spysen", April 16, 1522. The city council of Zurich refused to take any steps against Zwingli. It is noteworthy that Zwingli looked upon the city council as the proper authority in the administration of the affairs of the Church and through it he exerted much power and influence to carry out his various reformatory ideas.

The Diet of Lucerne, the highest authority and court in Switzerland, forbade Zwingli to preach his "Gospel" and deposed several pastors who were favorably inclined to Zwingli. He then influenced the city council to call a disputation for Jan. 29, 1523, to which the bishop of Constance and the members of the Diet were invited. The bishop sent his representative, John Faber, with the instruction, however, not to enter into any debate with Zwingli, but to pass judgment on the heresies. Needless to say, the disputation was decided in favor of Zwingli. It really was no disputation. The Swiss Reformer had prepared 65 theses, covering all the points of the "Gospel", as he called it, which he elaborated after the disputation and published in the year 1523 under the title "Uslegen und Gründ der Schlussreden oder Artikel".

Zwingli's opponents now began to accuse him of Lutheran tendencies and preaching Lutheran heresies, which insinuations he thoroughly resented and repudiated. But he labored under a delusion in this respect. The doctrines which Luther was preaching and promulgating and defending in Germany were also brought to Switzerland by several of his friends, chief among them Oecolampadius, who had studied the writings of Luther while sojourning in Augsburg. And Zwingli could not escape the force of these declarations of the German Reformer very well. Oecolampadius, who came to Basel in the year 1523 and shortly after became professor at the university, stood in practically the same relation to Zwingli as Melancthon did to Luther. Oecolampadius made Zwingli acquainted with the arguments of Luther which led Zwingli further into the Bible and he could not help championing the same cause as Luther. Thus we find the Swiss Reformer attacking the same errors

in the Church as Luther during this period, with this difference, however, that the Swiss Reformers carried their reforms into effect by means of the power of civil authority, while Luther fought solely with the sword of the spirit. Luther brooked no interference on the part of the civil authorities in his struggle for religious liberty and emancipation from the yoke of outward religiousness of the Church. Then, too, where Luther had to fight hard battles in his several disputations, Zwingli gained comparatively easy victories for the simple reason that he met hardly any resistance. Catholic Switzerland had no men to meet a man of the caliber of Zwingli.

Through the reforms which Zwingli carried out in Zurich with the aid of the city council the church life in the city by the end of the year 1524 had undergone a decided change. Images and pictures, together with some very costly paintings, were removed from the churches and destroyed. In fact, all decorations of any nature were demolished as against the first commandment. The vernacular was introduced into the services, which was a decided improvement over the melancholy Latin chantings of previous days. Convents for men and women were abolished and some turned into schools. But the strangest proceeding of all was that Zwingli who was so very fond of music should silence it in the churches. And in the beginning of the year 1525 the Lord's Supper was observed according to the liturgy composed by Zwingli and at a long table in the Great Minster of Zurich the bread was distributed on wooden plates and the wine in wooden mugs. The chief difference between the reforms of Luther and those of Zwingli was that the Wittenbergers emphasized the doctrine, while the Zurichers laid more stress on externals. The former removed those things only which were in opposition to God's Word, the latter condemned everything which was not expressly taught in Scripture. Luther retained the pictures, altars, and the decorations of the church buildings, and the priestly character of the cult, purging it from all impurities and errors. Zwingli on the other hand banished all these things as smacking of idolatry. Luther maintained that the Holy Spirit operated through the Word of God and the Sacraments, Zwingli separated the two and made them dependent on the subjective emotions of the individuals. To Zwingli the Sacraments were merely memorials, original sin was nothing but a hereditary morally diseased state; he considered virtuous pagans like Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, and Cato saints who shared in the salvation as represented in Jesus Christ. His philosophical training was much in evidence in his theology, which was tainted with speculations rather than stating the sound doctrinal facts as they are found in Scripture.

In the year 1524 Zwingli married the beautiful widow Anna Reinhard, with whom he had entertained intimate relations since the year 1522 in what is euphemistically called a "clerical marriage". Following his example many other priests now also married either their mistresses or other women. The Anabaptists also came upon the scene of his activities and caused him a great

deal of trouble for a time during the years 1525 and 1526, and his treatment of this sect goes to show very plainly that he was guided by another spirit than Luther. Under Zwingli's influence the city council employed "drastic measures" against them. Many Anabaptists were punished with death by drowning. The cities of Bern, Basel, and St. Gallen emulated this example of intolerance.

In the year 1526 the disputation of Baden took place between the leaders of the Swiss Reformation and the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics. Eck, who had sustained such a severe defeat at the hands of Luther in the year 1519 in the disputation of Leipzig, embraced this opportunity to retrieve some of his former prestige. Zwingli was not permitted by the city council to attend this disputation, because the city fathers feared for his life in this Roman Catholic country. But he was very well represented by his able friend Oecolampadius who outclassed Eck by superior knowledge. The Swiss theologians were nevertheless condemned as heretics and the Swiss cantons who harbored them were ordered to banish them from their borders. The report of these proceedings at Baden induced several more cantons to openly join in the reformatory movement.

In the Five Forest cantons, however, the Roman Catholic party was in the majority and vigorously opposed every effort to introduce these heresies within their borders. The adherents of Zwingli were bitterly persecuted, to such an extent in fact, that the state of affairs between the Roman Catholic and the reform cantons soon bordered on civil war. Inspired by the fiery sermons of Zwingli, Zurich declared war, relying on Bern to join the move. But Bern was jealous of Zurich's growing reputation and did not relish a war, especially not with its rival in the lead. In consequence, a hasty peace was concluded at Cappel in the year 1529. The Five Forest cantons, however, never yielded in their program of opposition to the reformatory spirit and concluded a treaty with Austria which naturally made the situation acute. In the Swiss Confederacy, a combination of all the Swiss cantons, the Roman Catholics held an overwhelming majority. In view of this situation Zwingli with the burgher cities insisted on a reorganization of the Confederacy which the Roman Catholic party answered by increasing their intolerant measures against the Reformers. Zurich again urged war, but Bern held back. Instead Bern advocated an embargo on all foodstuffs as a punitive measure. The Five Forest cantons retaliated by suddenly marching upon Zurich and Bern. They were totally unprepared when suddenly on Oct. 9, 1531, an army of 8,000 men stood before Zurich. In consternation Zurich could send but 2,000 men against them. Needless to say, the Zurichers were almost totally annihilated in the battle which ensued at Cappel, Oct. 11, 1531. Among the 500 prominent Zurichers who lay slain upon the battlefield was also the pastor of Zurich, Zwingli. As chief pastor of the Great Minster he had gone with the little army, dressed in armor. He was struck by a stone while ministering

to a wounded soldier and killed by a sword thrust. The body lay unrecognized for some time until the enemy found it. His corpse was given over to the hangman and quartered and burned like that of a heretic and traitor. The war then ended in the second treaty of Cappel of the year 1531 and shortly after a vigorous campaign was carried on by the Catholic party in an endeavor to bring the recalcitrants back into the fold of the Church and not without some success. All of Zwingli's political planning for Switzerland in the interest of the Reformation came to an untimely end and much that he stood for in church practice and theology did not long outlive him, but was superseded by the less warlike Reformer of the French Swiss, John Calvin, who at this period was just in his ascendancy.

JOHN CALVIN.

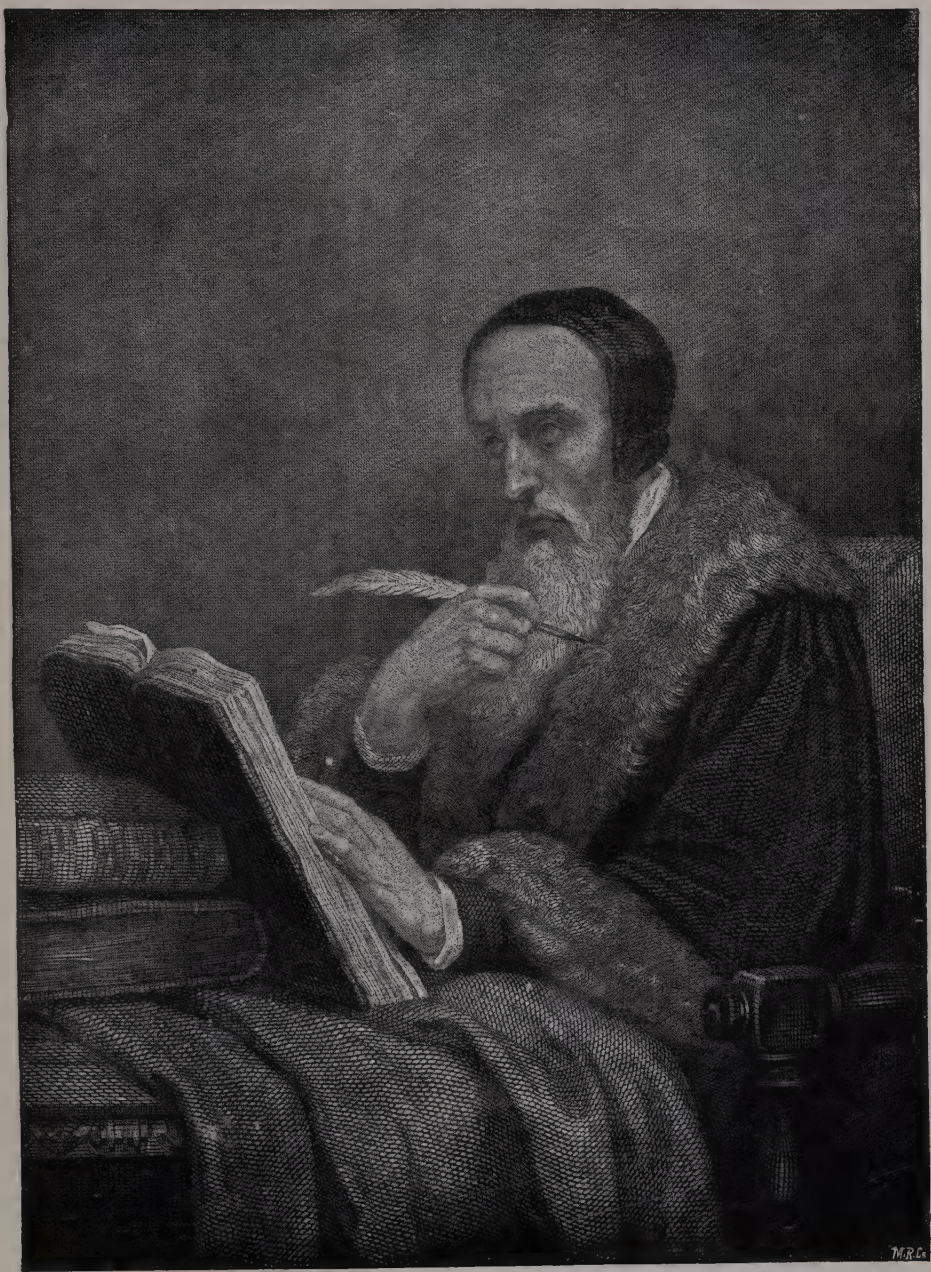
A greater spirit by far than Zwingli and the one who really molded the theological views of what since about the year 1600 has been called the Reformed Church was John Calvin. Calvin by far overshadows Zwingli in the development of the Reformed doctrines. This was but natural, for Calvin had the advantage of being able to learn from both Luther and Zwingli when he became the leader in the French Swiss Reformation which the German Swiss gradually joined. The Reformed theology owes more to the master mind of Calvin than to any other and the teaching and views of Calvin occupy a determinative position in the Reformed Church. It is this system of theology which Calvin bequeathed to this part of the Church at his death which today is generally termed Calvinism in contradistinction to Lutheranism. And Geneva, not Zurich, is the Rome of the Reformed Church, as Wittenberg is the fountain and source from which Lutheranism sprang.

John Calvin, born at Noyon in the Picardy, France, July 10, 1509, was the son of Gérard Cauvin or Caulvin (Calvin is the Latinized form) who held several prominent positions in Noyon. His mother, Jeanne le Franc of Cambrai, was noted for her very religious temperament. She died while Calvin was yet very young. The father's position in Noyon secured for his children the best educational advantages and association with the children of the prominent families of the city and also ecclesiastical patronage. As early as twelve years of age he received the chaplaincy in the cathedral of Noyon which yielded him a regular income. In the year 1523 he was sent to Paris to prepare for the priesthood. He showed rare ability as a student and made marked progress in his studies. His father, however, had a falling out with the ecclesiastical authorities of Noyon and in consequence he ordered his son to take up the study of law. Calvin then left Paris for Orleans, a famous law center, and advanced rapidly so that he was made "Doctor juris". He

continued his studies at Bourges under the prominent German humanist Melchior Wolmar who was favorably inclined toward the Reformation movement which was then spreading in France from Wittenberg. Wolmar led Calvin to study Greek and the New Testament in the original language. When his father died in the year 1531 he returned to Paris and devoted himself to the study of Hebrew and the classics and became more and more interested in the truths of the Scripture. In the year 1532 he published a commentary of Seneca's "De Clementia" at his own expense. The Reformation was making rapid headway in France among the humanists to which he belonged. He acquainted himself thoroughly with the principles of the Reformation and now devoted himself entirely to theology. By his learning he soon became the leader of the small circle of humanists who sympathized with this new movement and it was because of his reform tendencies that he finally had to leave the country. He wandered about the country from city to city for about two years and while on these journeys began his famous "Institutes of the Christian Religion" (*Institutio religionis Christianae*), which he completed in Basel and published in the year 1536 as his confession of faith. It is an apologetic treatise in defense of the principles of the Reformation and was prefaced by a letter to King Francis I. of France, an arch-persecutor of the Protestants in his kingdom.

He did not stay in Basel very long, but went to Italy, whence he again returned to Paris. Here he met a younger brother and a half-sister with whom he set out for Strassburg. They were compelled, however, to make a detour on account of a war in that vicinity and in the latter part of July, 1536, arrived in Geneva, where they intended to stop overnight. But a Frenchman by the name of Farel, who had induced the Genevans to accept the Reformation and then found himself unable to cope with the new situation, learned of his presence in the city and fairly compelled the young scholar to stay and assist him in the work of the Reformation. But the city did not long submit to the drastic measures which these two Reformers sought to introduce and they were expelled from Geneva two years later by the General Assembly. Calvin came to Strassburg in the year 1538 where he administered to the French refugees who fled from France under the persecutions which were carried on by Francis I. While in this city he married in the year 1540 Idelette de Bure, a widow. The son born to him died shortly after his birth, his wife dying in the year 1549. Calvin grieved long over the death of his wife and never married again.

He never expected to return to Geneva or to have anything to do with that city again. He was very poor and lived in comparative obscurity in Strassburg, but his scholarly abilities persisted in forcing him to the front. His one ambition seems to have been to spend his life in quiet study, but circumstances drew him forward. He took part in several religious conferences that took place at Worms, Regensburg, and at Hagenau. On these various



John Calvin.
(After A. Scheffer.)

occasions he became acquainted with Melanchthon and this casual acquaintance developed into a somewhat intimate friendship through the correspondence which from then on was carried on between the two scholars. Calvin, however, was also kept posted on the affairs of Geneva. His scholarly attainments were bringing him fame and his friends in Geneva were exerting every effort to bring about a change in the city in an attempt to have young Calvin return. Disturbances in Geneva were becoming increasingly frequent and the authorities of the city were unable to curb the unruly populace. Cardinal Sadoletus had also come into the city in an endeavor to utilize this dissatisfaction to bring the Genevans back to the Roman Catholic fold. But Geneva had no intention of ever returning to Rome. The unruly element in the city, however, made the situation increasingly difficult to handle. The friends of Calvin again got the upper hand in the government and recognizing the need of an iron hand to hold the loose population in check and recalling that Calvin during his previous two years' stay had shown extraordinary ability in this respect the General Assembly, joined by the Two Hundred, invited him to return. Calvin was very reluctant to follow this call, but here again Farel was instrumental in moving him to come to the city. Before accepting the invitation Calvin made the condition that he have absolute power to regulate the affairs of the community as he saw fit, which was conceded. And in the fall of the year 1541 he again entered Geneva and took up the difficult task of ordering the affairs according to his high standards of morality.

The city authorities gave him an honorable reception and offered him a house to live in and a steady income. From this time on Geneva was his home and the center of his activities. He ruled the city with a very firm hand. With stern morality and uncompromising zeal he attacked the arduous task of curbing the passions of the loose populace and not without considerable success. A popular meeting ratified his plan of a consistory which met every Thursday and passed on the conduct of the individual Genevan citizens, putting under church discipline any and all evil-doers, no matter of what rank or standing in the city. The rigor and vigor of this sort of ecclesiastical government naturally aroused the indignation of a considerable part of the population and even of those who had favored his return. His life was in constant danger. Some showed their unutterable contempt for him by naming their dogs after him! And it is true, his reforming measures were little short of inquisition in their extent. The Puritans of early Massachusetts are a good reflection of this Calvinistic system of compulsory inculcation of morality and religiousness as carried into practice by Calvin at Geneva. Intolerance over against those who differed from his views was one of the chief faults of Calvin's career as Reformer. We have numerous instances of this trait in the administration of Geneva, the chief victim of his intolerance being Servetus who had accused Calvin of tyrannical and unchristian conduct. No doubt Servetus was also to blame in this matter,

but Calvin's part in this burning of Servetus can not be excused on that score. This burning of Servetus (Oct. 27, 1553) for heresy is a sad, ineffaceable blot on the character of Calvin.

In this connection we must take note of the Reformation which had been begun by Zwingli in German Switzerland and had been ably continued by Heinrich Bullinger. Oecolampadius had died shortly after the battle of Cappel when Zwingli fell. But Bullinger carried on Zwingli's work, although

in a more sober and mitigated form. He became Zwingli's successor at the Great Minster of Zurich and upon him devolved the most difficult work of reconstruction. With the battle of Cappel the cause of the Reformation had been momentarily checked, but Bullinger gradually picked up the torn threads and pieced things together again. The German Swiss Reformation which had long been political rather than religious in character was raised to a more healthy relation to the body politic by a recognition of the distinct spheres of Church and State. Bullinger also took an active part in the early part of his career to arrive at an understanding with Luther. Martin Bucer, the leader in the negotiations between Luther and the theologians of southern Germany with Strassburg as



Michael Servetus.

center, had come to an understanding with Luther in the year 1536 when the Wittenberg Concord was accepted. Bullinger, however, could not agree with his Concord and framed the First Helvetic Confession as the doctrinal basis of the German Swiss movement, wherein the Zwinglian views on the Lord's Supper were upheld. This standpoint, of course, achieved no reconciliation with Luther. Bullinger had also come in touch with Calvin and gradually accepted the principles which the latter had laid down in his Institutes. With Calvin the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was closely connected with the doctrine of predestination. Bullinger as well as Calvin realized the necessity of harmony in

order to avert the perils of a schism in Switzerland and in a "Consensus" prepared by the two an agreement was reached in the year 1549. Bullinger then accepted the views of Calvin on the doctrine of predestination and his views found expression in his Second Helvetic Confession, published in the year 1566. This was accepted not only by all Swiss churches with the exception of Basel, but also by the Reformed in France, Scotland and Hungary, and was praised in parts of Germany, and in England and Holland. It became the bond which united the scattered forces of the Reformed Church. In this movement the French and the German Swiss were united and Geneva then superseded Zurich as the leading seat of the Reformed Church, which it has remained to this day.

In his work in Geneva Calvin was aided greatly by his most intimate friend and countryman Théodore de Bèze (Latinized form Beza), who was better liked by the Genevans than Calvin. Through the efforts of these two men Geneva became the "holy city" of the Reformed movement. Geneva gained the reputation of being the normal school of religious life. It became the refuge for persecuted Protestants and the influx of Hollanders, English, Italians, Spaniards, and particularly French made it exceedingly difficult to govern this mixed population. Calvin's and Beza's lectures attracted thousands of students, who returning to their respective countries became voluntary missionaries spreading the Reformed doctrines far and wide.

Calvinism exerted a strong influence upon the Huguenots of France who were cruelly persecuted by the kings. Calvin also had appealed to Francis I. for moderation in his policy against heresy in his realm, but was as little successful as the Lutheran theologians who protested against the intolerance of the French kings. During the various periods of persecution which swept over France many thousands of students found temporary refuge in Geneva and when they returned to France they carried Calvinism to practically every part of the country to the intense indignation of the ruling house. Calvinism also exerted a predominating influence in the Reformation in England and particularly in the Netherlands, whence it was carried to America. Calvin died fifty-five years of age, May 27, 1564. Theodore Beza became his successor and with Heinrich Bullinger labored to the close of the sixteenth century for the consolidation of the Swiss Reformation and the spread of the Reformed doctrines.



THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.



There was just as great a desire of and a need for a Reformation in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century as there was on the Continent. England shared in the general corruption of doctrine and discipline which prevailed throughout the Church, but at this period the religious and ecclesiastical conditions in England were particularly bad and the constant note of warning and protest which was heard in many quarters of England testify to the alarming proportion to which this corruption had grown. The friars, once the most effective preachers for a long period and exerting a wholesome influence upon the social conditions of the kingdom, had lost their fervor when they became the possessors of grand estates and buildings and the holders of high positions in civil departments. And even long before this period the Dominicans and the Franciscans had ceased to be anything but an object of ridicule and scorn. The monks who had been the best pattern of religious life and devotion had fallen into a general neglect of their rules and were exclusively occupied with worldly affairs. Monasticism had fallen into general disrepute and contempt. John Wyclif had already raised a loud and emphatic voice against the corrupting influences of monasticism, but his protests had resulted in no apparently appreciable results. Still among the lower ranks of the English people a general fermentation went on and a sentiment of dissatisfaction was abroad and made itself felt. This discontent was further nourished by the work of Erasmus who spent many years in England and heaped withering scorn and ridicule upon these clerical conditions. The spirit of Wyclif was very much alive, though apparently slumbering for more than a hundred years after the death of the "morning star of the Reformation". What made things worse and even more offensive was that the clergy of England were practically immune from any punishment for any offences or crimes by the civil authorities. The social conditions of England at this time were thoroughly rotten and crimes prevailed to such an extent that statute after statute of the most terrible severity was needed to check it.

That a thorough Reformation in every respect was very much needed in England was admitted by every one at the beginning of this century. But there was no man in England of sufficient greatness of character to lead such

a reform movement and inaugurate an emphatic and at the same time effective protest against this condition of affairs. The spirit of Wyclif, however, was revived and a fresh impulse to reform imparted to England from abroad when the Augustinian monk arose and dared to tell the pope in the midst of his great power that by his false doctrine and corruption he enslaved the Church which he held in "Babylonian Captivity". Luther's writings found rapid dissemination in England as early as the year 1521, when his work "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church" found its way to England. The bishops of England viewed with growing alarm the spread of the "deadly poison" of Lutheran heresies and called upon the king, Henry VIII. (1509—1547), to check it. Henry VIII. was undoubtedly one of the best educated rulers of Europe. Being the second son his father had given him all the advantages of learning and he had acquired a good knowledge of scholasticism and of theology in general. His brother Arthur dying without heir Henry came to the throne and according to the wish of his father married his brother's wife, Catherine of Aragon, for which he obtained a special dispensation from the pope. Catherine was eight years his senior. Princess Mary was the only daughter born of this marriage.



Henry VIII.

In the year 1522 Henry VIII. in response to the protest of the English bishops against the spread of the Lutheran heresies took it upon himself to show some of his theological learning and attacked Luther's above mentioned work, defending the seven sacraments of the Roman Church and heaping contempt upon the offspring of a peasant. The pope showed his approval by honoring the king with the title "Defender of the Faith". Luther replied in like contemptuous fashion. Luther later on at the instigation of the elector of Saxony apologized to the king for his harsh language, but nothing good came of it.

The man who exerted the greatest influence at this time was Cardinal Wolsey, the favorite of Henry and a willing tool in the hands of the king. He was the chief statesman of the realm, influenced Henry's councils, and transacted many of the king's important affairs. But he had no interest in the reforming sentiment fermenting among the English people. Neither can one say that he made any great efforts at opposing it. For his one and chief aim was to remain the favorite of the king. It was the bishops who took the first steps against the spread of Luther's writings in England and it was more or

less only to calm the bishops that the Cardinal with great show of pomp and ceremony burned Luther's writings. But the burning of the German's books was not an effective measure against the spread of the heresies and Wolsey knew it. He, however, shirked persecution and its troublesome consequences. Wolsey had no friends anywhere excepting the king, whose favor he sought to keep by an excessive servility.

But reforming opinions had taken a considerable hold on the mind of the English by the year 1526. The king's controversy had done more than anything else to draw public attention to the writings of Luther and despite the law against the importing of his books they got into England, were translated, and read with evident delight everywhere. In the year 1526 William Tyndale, having become attached to the principles and doctrines of the German Reformation, devoted himself to the study of the Scripture. He began to preach and drew large crowds which excited the opposition of the ecclesiastics. He came to London and continued his preaching, gaining many friends among the laity, but none among ecclesiastics. He undertook to translate the Bible into the English tongue. But unable to do this work in England because of the great opposition he went to the Continent. He came in contact with Luther at Wittenberg who encouraged him in his work. The printing of the English New Testament was completed at Worms about the year 1525 and it first appeared in England a year later, creating a sensation. Tyndale lived in concealment most of the time he spent on the Continent and there is very little known of where he spent these years. It appears that if we had more knowledge of his whereabouts it would probably show that he had a very active part in the history of the Reformation in England and the spread of Luther's writings. The publication of the New Testament in England aroused Wolsey and the king to enact severe measures against it, but Tyndale's concealment was so secure that neither ecclesiastical nor political agents of Wolsey and Henry VIII. were able to find him. And his whereabouts are still unknown. Tyndale had a number of friends who assisted him and though the king and Wolsey tried hard to suppress the New Testament, the supply did not diminish as long as the people were bent upon having it. Believing that the progress of the Reformation made it safe for him to come out of his concealment, Tyndale settled in Antwerp in the year 1534. Here he was almost immediately seized, imprisoned in the castle Vilvoorden, tried for heresy or treason or both — the facts of his trial can not be exactly ascertained — and convicted. He was first strangled and then burned in the year 1536. It is unfortunate that so little is known of his life and works, for he undoubtedly was one of the chief promoters of the Reformation in England. That he was popular with the people is shown in the large number of friends and sympathizers he had while he preached in London. And he most likely had a great deal more to do with the reformatory movement than the meager reports lead one to believe.

The open rupture between Rome and England came in the year 1527, when Henry VIII. desired a divorce from the queen, Catherine of Aragon, alleging religious scruples, and the pope did not accede to his wishes. Henry VIII., who at this time was well on his way to make his reign the most hideous in English history, aside from that of "Bloody Mary", had no intention to further the cause of the Reformation by his open break with Rome over his "great case". And it is, therefore, entirely out of place to call Henry VIII. a Protestant. Far from being a Protestant, he was merely a refractory Roman Catholic who had bolted because the pope would not grant him his wish. And the king thoroughly insisted on being a Roman Catholic despite his break with Rome. The pope could not well grant the king's request for the simple reason that Catherine of Aragon was an aunt of Emperor Charles V. The pope, therefore, found himself in a very sorry predicament, for Clement VII. needed the good will of the emperor for his political aspirations and also the friendship of the king of England. So instead of making a decision he protracted and delayed the case through his agents. Cardinal Wolsey had been intrusted with this important mission for the king and he strained every nerve to persuade the pope to grant a divorce, knowing full well that upon the success of his negotiations was staked his position with the king. The pope, however, delayed and delayed to the intense indignation of the king and to the grief of the Cardinal. Anne Boleyn, whom he had promised that he would get a divorce so that he could marry her, made the king believe that Wolsey was not urging the case sufficiently. Several apparent attempts were made to hold a court to try the king's case, but the court was always adjourned at the proper moment under one pretense or another, so that a decision was never rendered. The pope had instructed his agents never to allow the proceedings to come that far. The case thus failed in the hands of Wolsey and he fell into disgrace with the king, losing everything. And when finally he was even accused of high treason the shock actually killed him, for he died on his way to the Tower of London in the year 1530.

With his death Thomas Cranmer comes upon the scene when he gave the king the advice to obtain the opinions of universities at home and abroad and to have the matter decided in England. Henry eagerly grasped the suggestion and commissioned Cranmer to prepare a treatise on the case. He was also sent on two separate missions, one to the pope and the other to the emperor in the years 1530 and 1532, but without any result. In the year 1533 Cranmer requested the king, since nothing further was to be gained by these negotiations, to permit him to proceed with the trial of Catherine's case, rendering the decision that the marriage with Catherine had been void from the beginning and at the same time declared the child of this marriage illegitimate. Of course, Cranmer in order to retain the favor of the king was compelled to make such a decision. Suffice it to say that Catherine never acquiesced in the decision and claimed Henry VIII. as her lawful husband to

the end of her life. Shortly after Cranmer declared the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn valid and crowned her queen. It was but four years later that Cranmer had the pleasant duty to pronounce the marriage with Anne Boleyn

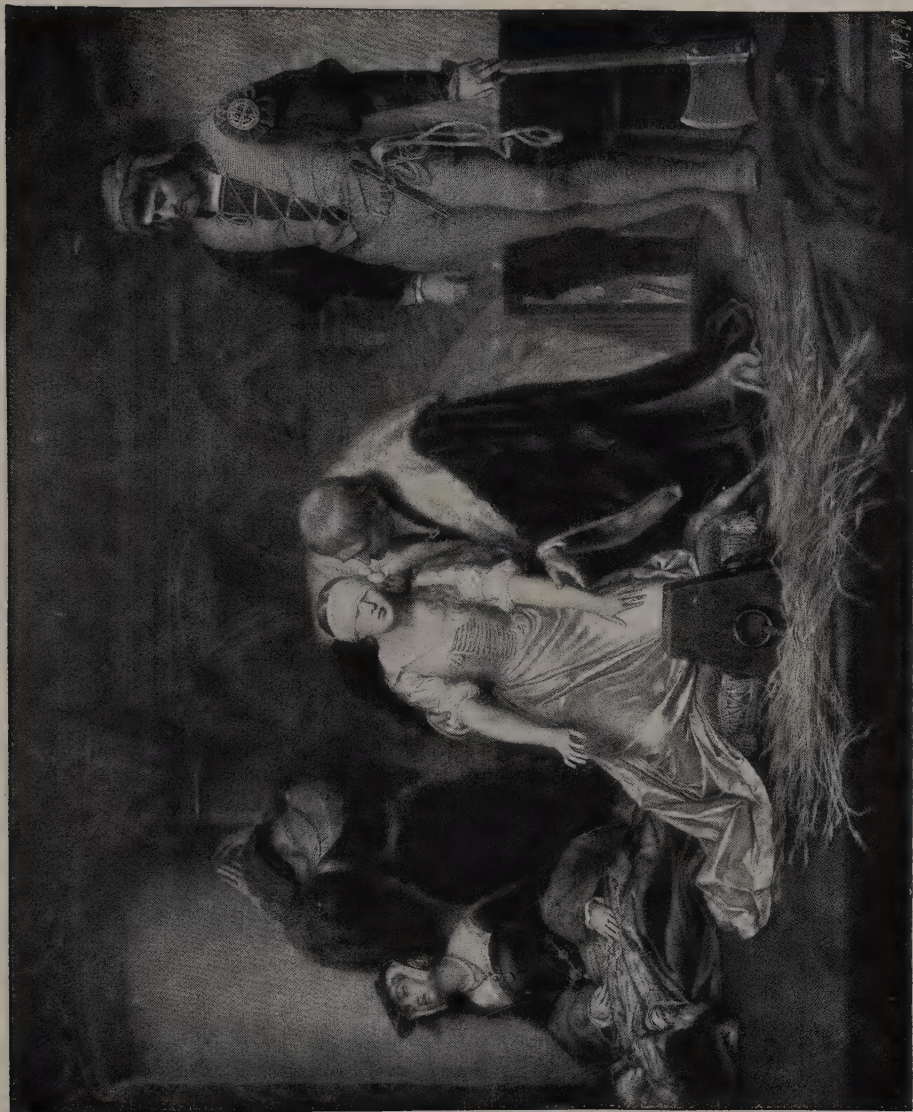
illegal and the child of this connection, Elizabeth, illegitimate! And on the same day that Queen Anne was beheaded Archbishop Cranmer issued another license to the king to marry Jane Seymour, who died after the birth of her son Edward. It is not necessary to touch upon the subsequent escapades of Henry VIII., as they have no important bearing on the development of the Reformation. There were no children from these marriages to further complicate the succession to the throne at his death. But we might add that his attitude towards the reformatory elements in his realm was gauged by the whims and humors of himself and his wives. He was passionately selfish and his royal conduct brought him into general contempt with the people.



Thomas Cranmer.

In the year 1531 the Convocation of Canter-

bury acceded to Henry's demand to be recognized as "chief protector, the only supreme lord and head of the Church and the clergy of England". In the year 1533 he secured a Parliamentary statute which forbade all ecclesiastical appeals beyond the kingdom. In the year following when the pope demanded that he take back Catherine as his lawful spouse, he secured the



Johanna Grey.
(After Delacroix.)

passage of the Act of Supremacy which vested unlimited authority in the crown to reform and redress ecclesiastical abuses. And to all the excommunications and anathemas of the pope he turned a deaf ear. This constitutes the final separation of the Church in England from Rome.

It is evident that England's separation from Rome came about through the selfish and personal desires of the king, and he was far removed from having any intention of aiding the cause of the Reformation in his realm. The Church of England became an independent body, but there was very little change made in doctrine. The doctrine of transubstantiation in the Lord's Supper, images, prayers to saints, purgatory and auricular confession all remained essential parts of the Church of England. Henry was particular to retain the Roman Catholic character of the Church. That he abolished over 376 monasteries and confiscated their property and wealth in the years 1536 to 1538 was for financial reasons. The king needed money and under the pretense of reforms he closed the convents and cloisters. Nevertheless the expulsion of so many monks and nuns had a wholesome effect upon the people and was another aid toward actual reform. As an evidence of Henry's desire to retain the Roman character of the Church of England we have the Bloody Act of the year 1539 which he secured from Parliament and which denounced all and every denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation as heresy, declared strongly in favor of auricular confession, celibacy of the clergy, and the sacrifice of private masses. Transgressions of this statute were punishable by death at the stake. On the basis of this Act persecution went rampant all over the kingdom, raging with equal fury against Catholics as against Lutherans, according as his wives and favorites influenced him against the one or the other.

Thomas Cranmer, who had been created archbishop of Canterbury by the king in the year 1533, was intrusted with the duty of carrying out the reform policies of the king. But Cranmer secretly favored the Reformation. As ambassador of the king in his "great case" he had come in touch with several Lutheran as well as Swiss theologians and was even secretly married to the niece of the Lutheran theologian Osiander of Nuernberg. Cranmer secretly aided the Reformation in England on his return. But he was inclined to the Swiss more than to the Lutheran Reformers. It was through his influence that the king had an English translation of the Bible published in the year 1539.

When Henry VIII. died his ten year old son of Jane Seymour became his successor as Edward VI., with the brother of Jane Seymour the Duke of Somerset, as regent. Cranmer had a free hand in this reign. With the aid of Somerset he secured the repeal of the Bloody Act. The First Prayer-book as issued by Parliament in the year 1548 was the work of Cranmer. Sympathy with the continental Reformation was shown in the call of several Reformed theologians to Oxford and Cambridge, among them Bucer. Somerset, however, was too ambitious to be of any great aid to Cranmer and his intriguing

finally cost him his head in the year 1552 and the Duke of Northumberland came into power. His administration of the affairs of Edward VI. was even worse than that of his predecessor, and caused Cranmer even more trouble than the arbitrary acts of Somerset. In the year 1552 the Forty-two Articles were drawn up embodying the Reformed doctrines which were accepted as the confession of faith of the Church of England. Cranmer's hand was also in evidence in the composing of these Articles. They expressly condemned the doctrine of transubstantiation, permitted the marriage of the clergy, discontinued auricular confession, and approved of the communion in both kinds. With the adoption of these Articles the formative period of the Reformation in England closes. Edward VI. died in the year 1553, having under the influence of the ambitious Northumberland named Jane Grey as successor to the throne. Jane Grey who had no desire to be queen of England under those complicated circumstances became the victim of Northumberland's ambition.

Jane Grey never really reigned as queen. Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon and the rightful heir to the throne according to an act of Parliament which Henry had secured before his death, successfully outwitted the Duke of Northumberland and ascended the throne supported almost entirely by the nobility. The chief ambition of Bloody Mary, as she is called in history, was to make England Catholic again. She was heart and soul a Catholic and gave full sway to the wicked fanaticism which her Spanish mother had imparted to her and inaugurated a most bloody persecution throughout the realm. The Bloody Act was again enforced. The leaders among the Protestants were thrown into the Tower. Cardinal Pole, who had to leave England under Henry VIII. because of his Roman Catholic tendencies, returned in the year 1554, absolved Parliament of its sins against Rome, and once more declared England Roman Catholic. Between the years 1555 and 1557 over 900 Protestants were burned at the stake. The terrors of the inquisition reigned everywhere. Suspicion of any kind or an attempt at defense or refusal to attend mass meant death. Those who refused to accept the new order of things were subjected to severe torture and compelled to assent. Spies were everywhere and no one was sure of his life. It became so bad that it was almost impossible to live in England, for the queen did not intend to convert the Protestants; her intention was to exterminate them. Bishops Latimer, Hooper, Ridley, and Ferrar were burned to death in the year 1555. Cranmer suffered the same fate in the following year. Jane Grey and her husband were beheaded as pretenders to the throne. In short, Mary's reign was one of terror and bloodshed and she fully merits the name which history has given her, though Rome honored her as a loyal daughter of the Church.

Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, succeeded Mary in the year 1558. Though Mary had known her to be a Protestant at heart, she had not dared to put her to death for lack of sufficient evidence. Elizabeth had been in-

structed in the doctrines of the Reformed by Cranmer. She ascended the throne a well-educated young woman and was in every way well able to fill the position of ruler of England. Under her long reign England fully recuperated from the effects of former misrule. She exercised every precaution and prudence in the beginning of her reign in the issue between Rome and England. But she was early compelled to take a stand for Protestantism when Pope Paul IV. declared that as the illegitimate daughter of Henry she had no right to the throne and granted Mary Stuart of Scotland the title of queen of England. This made the separation from Rome complete and the Church of England from now on continued as an independent body. Elizabeth was no zealous reformer, but directed the affairs of the Church of England with the keen sagacity of a statesman. In the first year of her reign (1559) the Act of Supremacy was renewed and the Act of Uniformity was passed by Parliament. By the former all allegiance to foreign princes and prelates was forbidden and by the latter the use of the Book of Common Prayer was made obligatory in all the churches of the kingdom. The royal title of "Defender



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church and the Clergy" was retained with the alteration of "Head" to "Governor". The Forty-two Articles drawn up by Cranmer under Edward VI. were revised and reduced to Thirty-nine Articles (1563), which name they have retained ever since. This revision did not impair their Protestant character and they represent the confession of faith of the Church of England. In the year 1571 they became part of the statute law of the realm and settled the permanency of the Established Church of England, episcopalian in character.

Many refugees who had fled to the Continent during Mary's reign returned to England, but strongly prejudiced against any elaborate ritual and in favor of the Genevan form of Church government, namely the presbyterian system. This provoked a controversy resulting in the formation of a communion called the Dissenters or Non-Conformists, while those who assented to the royal proclamations were called Conformists. Another class of opponents to the Church of England were the Puritans who protested against the episcopal vestments as symbols of Roman Catholicism and against many parts of the liturgy as idolatrous. They endeavored to cleanse the Church from these impurities. Elizabeth sought to suppress these by royal proclamations, but was not very successful. The Puritans suffered a good deal of oppression, but it was partly their own fault if one takes into consideration the most intemperate language used against the queen and the bishops. The breach between Anglicanism and Puritanism became wider and irreparable with the Marprelate Controversy, wherein particularly coarse language was used against the queen. The controversy was closed in the year 1593 by an act of Parliament which made Puritanism an offense against the statute law. Many Puritans then took refuge in Holland and later came to America.



THE FRENCH REFORMATION.

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The reformatory movement in France received its first impulse from Wittenberg, but was later superseded by Geneva. That the Reformed theology attained predominance in France was most likely due to the very lively intercourse which was maintained by the numerous refugees, travelers, and students between Geneva and their native country, partly also to the common tie in the French language and character of the Genevan leader, John Calvin. The first recognition of the influence of Wittenberg upon the French people is found in the denunciation of Luther's books by the Sarbonne of Paris in the year 1521, which followed Luther's excommunication (1520) and his condemnation by the Diet of Worms (1521). The connection of Francis I. (1515—1547) with the Reformation in France is chiefly political in character and was influenced predominantly by his troubles with Charles V., whereas his sister, Margaret of Navarre, strongly favored the Reformation and afforded the persecuted Protestants of France protection in her small kingdom. The Evangelicals in France are called Huguenots, a term equivalent to the word Protestant, but unlike the latter word of uncertain origin and not used until the year 1560.

As early as the year 1521 small congregations of Protestants existed in several cities of France, as in Meaux near Paris, in Grenoble, and in Metz. This was due to the work of several men who had studied in Wittenberg and carried Luther's message into France. Some of these early Lutherans were either driven from the country by the persecutions or became early martyrs to the cause. The German Wolfgang Schuch was one of the first Protestant martyrs in France (1525).

When the Sarbonne in Paris opened the opposition to the Reformation in France by the condemnation of Luther's books, the Parliament of Paris considered it its duty to carry out the resolutions of the university by characterizing heresy as high treason. In order to counteract the power of Germany, especially that of the house of Hapsburg, Francis I. often formed alliances with Protestant princes outside of France, while in his own country he persecuted the Protestants most violently. The defeat of the king by the emperor and his imprisonment (1524—1526) left France discouraged and torn in the hands of the queen-mother, Louise de Savoie, who attributed this misfortune

to the divine displeasure at the toleration of heresy in France. And one of the first things which the king did when he returned in the year 1526 was to promise "to uproot and extirpate the damnable and insufferable Lutheran sect". Between the years 1527 and 1528 he enacted severe laws against the adherents of Lutheran doctrines. The expiatory processions held in Paris and elsewhere intensified the anti-Lutheran sentiment among the people, while the numerous martyrs made many friends for the Evangelicals. The preparation of the Protestant princes of Germany for armed resistance to the emperor after he rejected the Augsburg Confession (1530) gave the king of France an opportunity to enter into an alliance with the Lutheran princes and Henry VIII. of England against the emperor. This, of course, compelled the king to moderate his persecution of the Protestants in his own country.

In the year 1534, however, an unusually denunciatory placard was posted on every principal street of Paris and a copy of it was also affixed to the door of the king's bedchamber by an overzealous Protestant, which so infuriated the king that he at once instituted a most violent persecution of the Protestants and large numbers were executed. The remonstrances of the Lutheran princes again influenced Francis I. to discontinue temporarily his frightful persecutions. Ostensibly to restore religious harmony within his country he invited Melancthon in the year 1535 to come to Paris, but the Elector of Saxony emphatically interposed. Appeals for toleration at this period were made by Lutheran as well as Swiss theologians. And Calvin even dedicated his "Institutes of the Christian Religion" to the "Very Christian King of France", which Francis, however, ignored.

With the publication of this great work by Calvin he soon became the leader of French Protestantism and Geneva the training camp from which hundreds of ministers of the Gospel returned to France, spreading the Reformed doctrines in all directions. This marks the ascendancy of Calvinism in France, and the principles and doctrines for which the French Protestants stood and fought became essentially Calvinistic from now on. Royal edicts (1538, 1539, 1540, 1542) again intensified the efforts for the extermination of heresy and many refugees found a home temporarily in Geneva and other Swiss cities, and in Germany. With the year 1545 the persecution was also directed against the Waldenses of Piedmont who by this time had come in close relation with the Swiss Reformers. Francis ordered them exterminated. About 4,000 were massacred and 700 men condemned to the galleys, whilst large numbers sought refuge in Switzerland. Whole villages at a time were burned.

Henry II. (1547-1559) continued the two-sided policy of his father. He was influenced considerably by the fanatic Cardinal Charles of Lorraine who had "the conscience of the king up his sleeve", and his mistress Diana of Poitiers. Under him the inquisitorial tribunal, the *Chambre Ardente*, "the burning chamber", was established with its terrible results. The burning of heretics became an almost daily occurrence.

Nevertheless the Calvinists were successful in spreading their doctrines, so that they were represented in almost every part of France, except Brittany. In fourteen or more cities of the country, with Paris at the head, churches were organized and by the close of Henry's reign about fifty fully organized congregations flourished in different parts of the country. In the year 1559 the first national convention compiled a confession and a book of discipline which all ministers were required to subscribe to. Protestantism spread even to the colleges, to the higher ranks of society, to the nobility, and several members of the Parliament even dared to protest against the cruel methods of the *Chambre Ardente* in the year 1559, suffering imprisonment and death for their bold stand. The execution of Antoine de Bourg, a man of heroic character, provoked a most decided reaction in favor of the Evangelicals.

Descendant from Louis IX., the Saint, were two branches of the royal house, the house of Valois which had reigned in France since the year 1328 and the house of Bourbon. Antoine was at the head of the house of Bourbon in the year 1560. He had married Jeanne d'Albert, the daughter of Margaret of Navarre, and through his wife became king of Navarre. The other Bourbon prince was Louis de Condé. Jeanne d'Albert and the Prince of Condé were zealous Evangelicals and under the beneficent influence of his excellent wife



Catherine of Medici.

Antoine was also favorably inclined towards the Huguenots. D'Albert, like her mother, opened her kingdom to the persecuted Huguenots and protected them. On the other hand, the ducal house of Guise was bitterly opposed to the Huguenots, as was also Catherine de Medici, though the latter was reluctant to join the Guises for political reasons. Under Henry II. and Francis II. the Guises had forced themselves into power. Particularly under Francis II. did the affairs of government come into the hands of Cardinal Charles of Lorraine and Duke Francis of Guise. Thus Catherine de Medici had reason to resent their assumption of power and their ignoring of her position as queen-mother. Antoine and Condé also opposed the Guises at every turn and since the Guises were fanatically opposed to the Huguenots, the Bourbons joined

the ranks of the latter against the reigning power. The fearful persecutions which the Guises instigated against the Huguenots led them under the leadership of Antoine and Condé to appeal to Catherine for protection and moderation. Being jealous of the power of the Guises, she showed her hostile attitude to them by encouraging the persecuted.

A conspiracy which was formed to get control of the young king and remove him from the baneful influence of the Guises failed and entailed a fearful massacre. Gaspard de Coligny, the soldier and statesman of the Huguenots, who was just then rising into prominence by his efforts on behalf of religious



Charles IX.

liberty, together with the Chancellor Michel de l'Hôpital prevailed upon Catherine again to mitigate the violent intolerance. Soon after another conspiracy was uncovered which involved both Antoine and Condé. The latter was seized and condemned to death, when the young king died and saved his life. Under her second son, Charles IX. (1560—1574), Catherine de Medici came into power and during the years of this regency played an important part in the affairs of France, which gave her opportunity to develop her brilliant gifts and administrative ability. Catherine, in the estimation of the eminent historian Leopold von Ranke, was a brilliant woman. In every undertaking her chief aim and sole object was always to gain her point at any cost. Moral standards did not exist for her, neither were human lives of any value to her. She believed

in the standards of Italian morality of her house (Pope Clement VII. was her uncle) which permitted and sanctioned the employment of any and every method in the maintenance of one's position of power.

In the beginning of her regency for her son the counter-movements of the Guises compelled her temporarily to assume a policy of conciliation and an attitude of tolerance towards the Huguenots whom she needed just then to strengthen her position of power and to remove the Guises. Condé was released from prison and Antoine de Bourbon was associated with her in the regency to counteract the Guises. Gaspard de Coligny also enjoyed the favor of Catherine and even could go so far as to present a petition for toleration to the States General which assembled at the close of the year 1560. He also

secured the repeal of the royal edict which, under the influence of the Guises, Francis II. had issued, forbidding the assembling of the Huguenots for religious purposes at the pain of death. In accord with her policy of conciliation the Religious Conference of Poissy was held in the year 1561 between Roman Catholic bishops and representatives of the Protestants. Among the latter was Theodore de Beza of Geneva. But this conference accomplished nothing. The movement in favor of the Huguenots was now spreading rapidly in all directions. Many nobles made common cause with them and elaborate preparations for defense were going on everywhere. Vast assemblies were held in many parts of the country. At the States General in the same year nobles as well as the third estate demanded legislation for religious liberty and a national council for the settlement of the religious difficulties. Catherine's encouragement of the Huguenots brought the situation almost beyond her control. She had no intention of furthering their principles. Her response to the demands of the Huguenots was the royal edict of the year 1562 which required all Huguenots to surrender all church buildings which they had seized and permitted them to hold religious assemblies in the country districts only, not within city walls. The Guises, however, were not at all satisfied with this edict.

Incensed by the edict Duke Francis of Guise made a bloody attack on a Huguenot congregation at Vassy, through which he was passing at the time, and similar outbreaks occurred at other places. Eight bitter religious wars followed this act of the Duke of Guise, lasting thirty-four years. Condé gathered the Huguenot forces and together with Henry of Navarre, the son of d'Albert, and Coligny carried on a war for religious liberty. Frightful atrocities were committed on both sides during the course of the next three religious wars, in which the Duke of Guise was assassinated by a Huguenot nobleman. Catherine having by this time attained to full power in the affairs of the government with the Guises out of the way, gradually manifested her antipathy for everything Protestant. Though Condé was also assassinated in the year 1569, the Huguenots had made so many gains that Catherine was finally compelled to make peace at St. Germain in the year 1570. The Edict of St. Germain granted the Huguenots freedom of conscience throughout the country and freedom of worship wherever it had been enjoyed before the wars, and permitted them to hold the four strongly fortified cities of La Rochelle, La Charité, Montaubon, and Cognac as pledges of the good faith of the government.

Catherine now employed different tactics in dealing with the Huguenot question. Charles IX. also began to assert his kingship by this time and Coligny became his favorite adviser, which, of course, imperiled her influence over her son and aroused her animosity. The Guises were also intensely hostile to Coligny. The queen-mother endeavored to overcome the breach between the two royal houses by marriage of her daughter Margaret of Valois with Henry of Navarre, wherein she was successful. The wedding took place

on August 18, 1572, and was regarded by the Huguenots as favorable to their cause. Large numbers of the Huguenot nobility had been invited to and attended the wedding. Coligny was one of the chief participants in the nuptials. Thus large numbers of Huguenots were in Paris during the summer of 1572. Jealous of the hold which Coligny had upon her son Catherine in league with the Guises plotted to have Coligny assassinated. While returning from the Louvre to his home on August 22 Coligny was fired upon twice by



Admiral Gaspard de Coligny.

an assassin, but only slightly wounded. The king vowed to punish any and every one connected with the attempt on Coligny's life if he found them out. Catherine in order to cover her connection with the plot and to protect herself incited her son to frenzied fanaticism against the Huguenots and involved him in a plot with the Guises to destroy the Huguenots with one blow, for which the presence of so many presented a splendid opportunity. Many and elaborate preparations were made by many prominent Roman Catholics who had been taken into the scheme which was kept so secret that not even a suspicion of it came to the Huguenots. A general massacre

was resolved upon for St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24. With the ringing of the bell of the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois the massacre began. The first object of attack was Coligny who was slain in his bedchamber by the wild horde led by the Duke of Guise, thrown from the window, his head cut off, and his body dragged through the streets and hanged on the gallows of Montfauçon. Paris was turned into a huge slaughter house in the twinkling of an eye. Every street in the city echoed with the cries of the persecuted and the wild tumult of the mob. There was not a street in the city which was not covered with the bodies of the Huguenots, men, women, and children. Terror reigned supreme through-

out the city in the chambers of the Louvre as well as in the houses of the Huguenots. Indescribable atrocities were committed and the butchery was most horrible. From Paris the massacre spread throughout the country, sparing neither age, sex, rank, nor learning. The estimated number of killed varies between 10,000 and 100,000, but the total for France may be placed at approximately 40,000.

No one expressed greater joy over the murder of so many thousands of Huguenots than Pope Gregory XII. A solemn "Te Deum" was sung at the Vatican and a medal coined commemorating this horrible event. King Philip II. of Spain deemed himself happy to have lived to see this great day.

Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé were spared, but were compelled to bow to the altar. While most of the leaders of the Huguenots had been destroyed, there were still millions who stood ready to defend their lives and rights by force of arms. The king and his mother had forfeited the confidence of



Medal of Gregory XIII., Commemorating Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Original Size.

their subjects. The religious wars were renewed. At the command of the king the Parliament declared Coligny guilty of high treason and his children infamous. Henry of Navarre did not stay long at the court. He managed to return to the ranks of his co-religionists and fought valiantly for them. Charles IX. who died in the year 1574, haunted to his very last by the horrors of the massacre, was succeeded by his brother, then king of Poland, who ascended the throne as Henry III. (1574—1589). He continued the war against the heretics, but with so little success that he found himself in such a position that he had to make peace. But the Holy League, made up of Catherine de Medici and Catholic nobles, led by Henry of Guise and supported by the pope and Philip II. of Spain, weary of the dilatory measures of Henry III. and fearful of the succession of Henry of Navarre to the throne, published a manifesto severely reprimanding the government for the toleration of heresy. The pope declared Henry of Navarre incapable of succession as a "backsliding heretic".

The last religious war, the "war of the three Henrys" (king, Guise, Navarre), broke out in the year 1585 in which the Holy League endeavored to put the Cardinal de Bourbon on the throne. The Guises demanded that the

king publish the decree of the Council of Trent in his country, introduce the inquisition, and execute all Huguenot prisoners. A plot to seize the king was nearly successful. Paris under the influence of the Guises rose in revolt. The king had the cardinal and the Duke of Guise put to death and the leading men of the League put in prison. A revolution followed in which the king was finally compelled to call upon Henry of Navarre for aid. During the investing of Paris the king was assassinated and Henry of Navarre ascended the throne as Henry IV. (1589—1610). After four years of hard fighting in which he was supported by England and Germany and opposed by Spain, Savoy, and the pope, he finally made up his mind, since his opponents were determined never to submit to a Huguenot king, that "Paris was worth a mass" and once more turned Catholic in the year 1590 as the only way to give the much needed peace to his country and security to his kingship. But for the Huguenots he nevertheless secured the proclamation of the Edict of Nantes in the year 1598, which granted the Huguenots full exercise of their religious liberty in all cities where already Reformed congregations existed, all public institutions and offices were thrown open to them, and they were granted political equality with the Catholics and in the large garrisoned towns the Huguenot troops were state-paid. Despite the strong opposition on the part of the Parliament, the Sorbonne, and the bishops the king succeeded in having the edict embodied in the statute law of the realm. Henry IV. was assassinated in the year 1610 by a fanatic disciple of the Jesuits, Ravallac.

Henry IV. had thus secured peace for the Huguenots for a time and they embraced the opportunity to recuperate from the many persecutions that they had to endure. This peace did not last very long, however. Louis XIV., who also played a large part in the latter part of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, again inaugurated a period of suppression which devastated almost entire France and forced his best subjects to emigrate. France presents a most deplorable spectacle of Roman Catholic intolerance and next to Germany became the poorest country of Europe through the policy of Rome.



THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.



The emperor at various periods of the Reformation in Germany had attempted to move against heresy in his empire. But fortunately for the Reformation his attention at critical points was always drawn to other parts. Either it was the king of France or the pope or the Turks who needed his immediate attention. This, of course, gave the Reformation ample opportunity to develop and to spread over almost all of Germany and into many other corners of the empire. In the year 1529 he arrived at an agreement with the pope and also made peace with the king of France, which for the time being left him a free hand to deal with the religious question in Germany. The situation took on a threatening aspect for the Protestants with the Diet of Spire (1529), where the Evangelicals protested against the curtailment of religious liberty and from which time on they were called Protestants. They organized an alliance in defense of the Protestant rights, over against which the Catholic princes formed the Catholic Alliance for the extirpation of heresy. But the situation tided over; the emperor's attention was needed elsewhere. Both movements for and against Protestantism kept on gathering momentum. And when the Smalkald League was formed in the year 1531 an open clash between the Catholic party and the Protestant party was imminent. But the strong influence of Luther against a religious war prevailed.

The emperor during this time was employing every means at his command to persuade the pope to convoke a council to settle the religious controversies in the empire. The pope on his part used every means to avoid the convocation. The imperial pressure, however, finally compelled Pope Paul III. to promulgate a bull which announced Mantua as the place for an ecumenical council. The Smalkald League realizing the importance of the situation met in convention to consider offering a confession of faith, but in the end against the advice of Luther declined to send delegates to this council. The friction between the Smalkald and the Catholic Leagues increased as time went on. During these dangerous developments the council was opened at Trent in December of the year 1545. Luther died in February of the year 1546 just before the outbreak of hostilities. With the close of the Diet of Regensburg in June of the year 1546 the issue came to a head quicker than either Protes-

tants or the emperor expected it. The latter was more or less precipitated into the conflict by one of his agents who went beyond his instructions. The Smalkald League was a powerful aggregation and the emperor stood in no little dread of it. But the Protestant princes dissipated the effect of this power by unnecessary doubts, hesitation, and indecision. Thus it came about that the Smalkald League was entirely annihilated with practically one blow, when Elector John Frederick of Saxony and Landgrave Philip of Hesse

were defeated in the battle of Muehlberg (1547). Both princes were made prisoners and the emperor became master of the whole situation.

The council had been convened by the pope at Trent, but against the wish of the emperor it passed resolutions making participation by the Protestants impossible. In addition the pope, finding the interference of the victorious emperor a handicap, transferred the council to Bologna in March of the year 1547, ostensibly from fear of the plague. Here it was indefinitely prorogued in September of the year 1549 to the chagrin of the emperor.

But in the fall of the year 1547 the emperor had called the Diet of Augsburg and took a personal interest in the settlement of the difficult religious situation. The humiliated Protestants of almost entire Ger-



Emperor Charles V.

many (the city of Magdeburg, the citadel of Lutheranism, stood out alone) humbly agreed to submit to the council provided it were restored to Trent. But the efforts of the emperor to bring this latter about remained fruitless. Until he had accomplished this, however, he secured a so-called truce between the Catholics and the Protestants of Germany in the Augsburg Interim which was drafted by some Catholic and Protestant theologians and which both parties should agree to observe in the meanwhile. It is true, these twenty-six articles of the Augsburg Interim took note of the Protestant views on various doctrines in a general way, but the spirit of the articles was so manifestly

Roman Catholic, that Charles V. had all the work in the world to enforce an observance of this Interim when it became imperial law in the year 1548. He was compelled to enforce it by force of arms everywhere. The people as well as the Protestant clergy arose in protest against it. But the magistrates were forced to yield to the power of the emperor and city after city of southern Germany submitted. Constance dared to take a stand against it, which brought down the imperial ban upon the city. It was made totally Roman Catholic and expurgated of every trace of Protestantism. After that no other city had the courage to resist. About four hundred Evangelical pastors with their wives and children were driven from house and home into exile. A storm of protest arose against the Interim in which many Protestant princes joined, angered that they were compelled to make concessions while the Catholic party was not. Agreement to this Interim was considered a denial of the Evangelical faith.

Towards the close of the first half of the sixteenth century things were in a bad state. The Protestants suffered under the Augsburg Interim and the emperor, now at the height of his career, came out openly in a movement to force the people back into the Roman Catholic Church. He was thorough master of the whole situation and ruled as an autocrat. But matters take a quick turn at times when least expected. Maurice of Saxony had turned traitor to the Protestant cause in the Smalkald situation and had enabled the emperor to gain an easy victory in the Smalkald War. At this stage of affairs he suddenly turned traitor to the emperor and saved Protestantism from destruction in the nick of time. The emperor had commissioned him to besiege Magdeburg and bring the city to terms. But while before Magdeburg Maurice formed a secret alliance against the emperor to settle a grievance and also set himself right with Protestantism, and by a sudden march through southern Germany and into Tyrol, he forced the emperor who was taken unawares to the Treaty of Passau of the year 1552, which gave religious freedom once more to Germany and equal rights with Catholics. And in the



Elector Maurice of Saxony.

Religious Peace of Augsburg in the year 1555 Charles V. practically lost every advantage he had gained over the Protestants. Disgusted over the turn of affairs he abdicated and gave the settlement of the affairs over to his brother Ferdinand who became emperor (1556—1564). —

Already during Luther's lifetime several controversies had broken out in the Lutheran Church and now during this struggle for religious liberty the Lutheran Church was again involved in a number of theological disputes which began with the Augsburg Interim. After Luther's death Melanchthon became the theological leader of the German Reformation, unfortunately so. In formulating the Augsburg Confession (1530) Melanchthon had already shown a marked tendency to vacillate. He revised this work several times to the displeasure of Luther and aroused the suspicion of the other Lutheran theologians. As a Reformer Melanchthon was guided by moderation, caution, conscientiousness, and love of peace, but very often these qualities were only a lack of decision, consistency, and courage. It is true, Melanchthon protested against the Augsburg Interim, but at best it was but a feeble protest. And by taking part in the Leipzig Interim, a compromise measure, he fell down ingloriously. He thought to compromise, in order, as he believed, to pacify the emperor. Thus it came about that it was, due chiefly to the sweeping criticism of Matthias Flacius of Magdeburg that public protest made the execution of the Interim impossible. Melanchthon in the Leipzig Interim made concessions to the Roman Catholics which can in no way be justified. It is true, some of the points which he yielded were *adiaphora* or unessential and did not attempt to change anything in the cardinal doctrines of the Reformation. But Melanchthon lost sight of the fact that concessions even of this character made under the prevailing circumstances must be regarded as a denial of Evangelical convictions (see Form of Concord, Article X).

Melanchthon, however, fully redeemed himself in the next, the Osiandrian controversy, which began in the year 1549 on the doctrine of justification (Form of Concord, Article III). This was followed by the Majoristic controversy in the year 1552 in which Georg Major, a disciple of Melanchthon, asserted that good works are necessary to salvation and his opponent that good works were an obstacle to salvation (Article IV); the synergistic controversy in the year 1555 in which Flacius took a prominent part (Article II). Out of this dispute grew still another on original sin, in which Flacius was led to make extreme statements (Article I.). Other disputes arose which were settled in Articles V and VI of the Form of Concord.

All these theological disputes aided in clarifying the Lutheran dogmatic position and led to a full development and completion of the doctrinal system of Lutheranism as laid down in the Book of Concord, which was first published in the year 1580 at the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, embracing all the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church, viz., the three ecumenical creeds; the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, both by Melanch-

thon; the two Catechisms of Luther; the Smalkald Articles, written by Luther in the year 1537; and the Form of Concord. With the close of the sixteenth century the theological history of the German Reformation closes; but the political history was not brought to a close until after the Thirty Years' War, which was brought about by the Counter-Reformation instigated by the Jesuits.

That the Jesuits brought about this horrible conflagration is beyond all doubt, notwithstanding the constant denial of the fact by Catholic historians. The Thirty Years' War was a religious war caused by an impudent violation of the Religious Peace of Augsburg into which the Jesuits led the emperors. But it was a religious war only up to the Peace of Prague in the year 1635, after that it was nothing but a scramble between the French and Swedes as to who was to possess the bigger slice of German territory.

The efforts of Rome to check the rapid spread of the Reformation or to confine it within narrow boundaries or to recoup the territorial losses to the Protestants were a

well-planned campaign carried out by several popes. This whole movement on the part of Rome may well be termed a Counter-Reformation. The Council of Trent in this program irreformably fixed the doctrinal position of the Roman Church for all time and condemned the principles and doctrines of Protestantism. It opened, as we have seen, by barring the Protestants from the council and closed with "anathema to all heretics, anathema, anathema". The Counter-Reformation thus manifested itself on the one hand by giving the Church internal stability and on the other hand



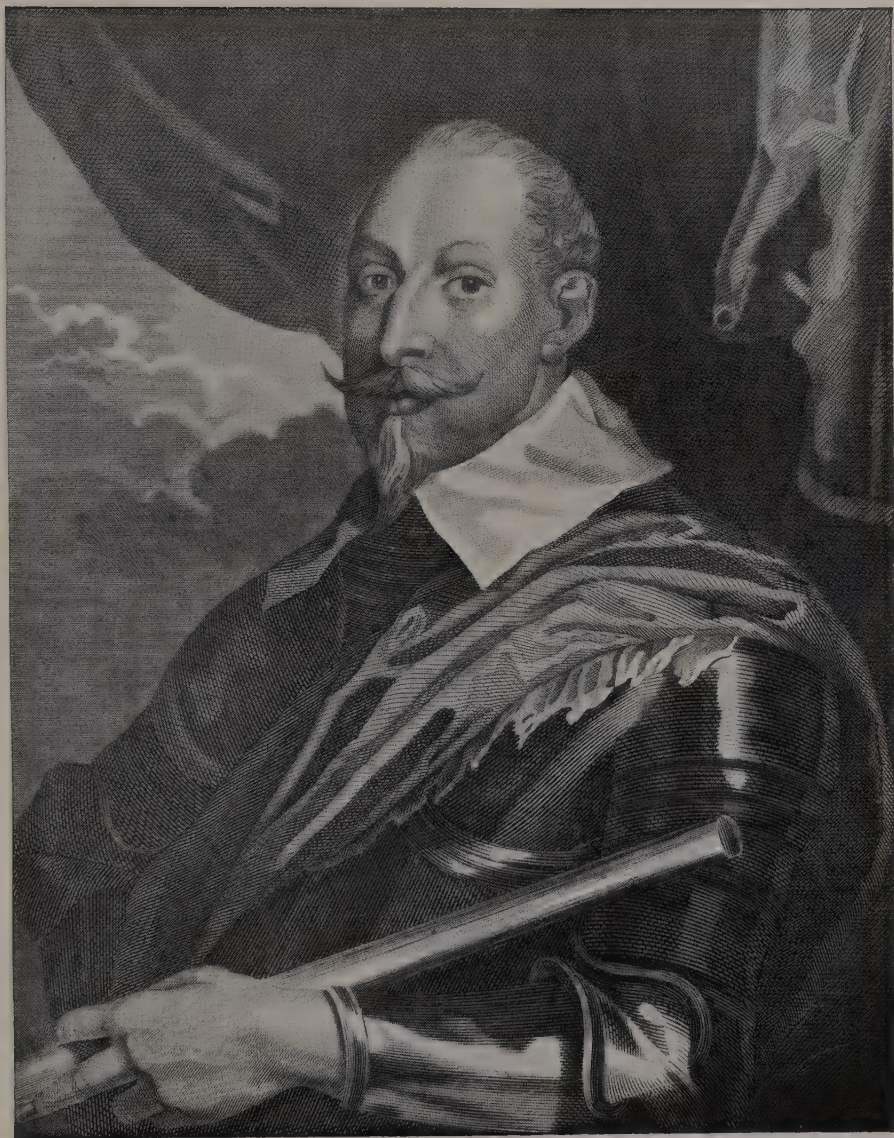
Ignatius Loyola.

by its aggressive spirit in the suppression and extermination of Protestantism. In this latter part of the program the Jesuits or Society of Jesus rendered Rome inestimable services, renewing the power of the hierarchy for several centuries.

The Society of Jesus which was really the nucleus of this whole movement was founded by Ignatius Loyola, son of a Spanish nobleman, born about the year 1491. He was of a highly sentimental and romantic temperament and was fond of stories of chivalry. Wounded during the siege of Pampelona in the year 1521 he was for months an invalid at the castle of his father. During this period of suffering a Life of Christ and some legends of saints came into his hands. By these he was fired with an ambition to follow Christ and to emulate the example of Francis of Assisi and Dominic, the founders of the Franciscan and Dominican orders respectively. He resolved to devote his life to religion, particularly to the adoration of the Virgin Mary. He entered the Dominican order, subjecting himself to the most rigorous forms of asceticism. In the year 1523 he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and on his return took up the study of Latin at Barcelona and philosophy and theology at Alcalá, Salamanca, and Paris.

He founded his new order in Paris with a few others whom he had converted to his views and by the year 1540 the Society of Jesus was confirmed by Pope Paul III. The constitution which Loyola prepared for his order was military in character. At the head of the order is a General who is under the immediate jurisdiction of the pope. The General of the Jesuits is still known today as the Black Pope because of the mighty influence which he exercised and still has. The rules of the order require unconditional submission to the laws and ordinances of the Church and the order. The utmost pains are taken in training new recruits. After a two years' novitiate, during which the novice is totally deprived of his own will by Loyola's "Spiritual Exercises", detached from all ties of family, rank, and country and embodied, one may say, body and soul into the order, the entrant is required to make the three vows common to monasticism and then becomes a Jesuit. A number of the members become secular coadjutors, others, the majority of them, receive a philosophical and theological training and are ordained to the priesthood. The Jesuits devoted themselves entirely to the propaganda of Catholicism among Protestants and heathens. To that end they made an early and successful attempt to get control of all the leading schools of Europe and imbued them with the spirit of Jesuitism which meant a most ungodly hatred for everything Protestant. This enabled them to exert a large influence over every rank of society. Youths were inculcated with a bitter hatred for Protestants, in very many cases unknown to their Protestant parents. In the course of time they became the guiding spirits of the schools of eight large cities, preparing the way for the aggressive work against Protestantism.

While the Lutheran theologians were wrangling among themselves, Europe



Gustave Adolph, King of Sweden.

(After Van Dyck.)

was being quietly flooded with Jesuits. By their shrewdness, daring, cleverness, and versatility, tact and diplomacy, machinations and intrigues they succeeded at one place to fan the flickering spark of Catholicism into full flame and at another place their work resulted in the total annihilation of flourishing Protestantism. If it had not been for the Jesuits Germany in a few decades would have been completely Protestantized. As early as the year 1558 a Venetian observer could report home that in Germany but 1/10 of the population still adhered to the Old Church, while 7/10 were Lutheran and the rest was taken up by anti-Catholic parties. Among the cities of Germany Ingolstadt (1549) first came under the influence of the Jesuits who established themselves in the school there, when William IV. of Bavaria invited them to that city as teachers of theology. Two years later thirteen Spanish priests appeared in Vienna, called there by Emperor Ferdinand. Prague and Cologne soon followed in line. From these cities they spread over all of Germany and into the hereditary lands of Austria. In the year 1552 Loyola already founded a German college (*collegium Germanicum*) in Rome, where German youths were prepared to go back to their native country to do missionary work among the Protestants. A large number of these youths came from Protestant families. Bavaria had been made wholly Catholic by this time. Those Protestants who had refused to become Catholic were forced from house and home into exile. The Jesuits were so highly delighted at the zeal of Albrecht V. that they termed Munich the "Rome of Germany". Bavaria became the base of operations for the Counter-Reformation with the year 1571. Many Catholic princes now followed the example of Bavaria, so that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had the great movement for the restoration of Catholicism and the extermination of Protestantism well under way.

But it was in Bohemia where the Counter-Reformation of the Jesuits came to a head. The outcome of affairs in this country was the direct occasion of the prolonged struggle called the Thirty Years' War (1618—1648). Bohemia at the opening of this century was strongly Protestant, but with the close of this same century it was totally Roman Catholic. In the year 1609 Rudolph II., then German emperor and king of Bohemia, felt constrained to recognize the rights of the Protestant subjects in a Letter of Majesty or Royal Charter wherein freedom of conscience was guaranteed to all who kept within the limits of certain creeds. But this charter was given grudgingly. Matthias (1612—1619), the brother of Rudolph, took every occasion to violate and encroach upon the provisions of this charter. In consequence the Bohemians rose in rebellion, in Prague they threw the imperial counsellors out of the window, banished the Jesuits, and chose Frederick V. of the Palatinate king (1619). Ferdinand II. (1619—1637) defeated the Protestants in the battle of White Hill, near Prague, in the year 1620, destroyed the Royal Charter, called the Jesuits back, banished the Protestant clergy, and treated the Protestant popu-

lation as though mercy had no place in the Christian vocabulary. Wholesale confiscation of property brought them down to the verge of beggary by the hundred thousand. Moravia was treated in the very same way. From Bohemia the emperor carried the war into the Palatinate and Germany and with the aid of the Catholic princes and the Jesuits the extirpation of Protestantism was begun on a large scale. Christian IV. of Denmark and several princes came to the rescue, but were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity in the peace of Luebeck to retire from the struggle.

Ferdinand had able commanders at his disposal who were victorious on all sides. They were Tilly and Wallenstein, two totally different characters. Tilly was zealously and conscientiously devoted to his superiors and the Church. Wallenstein on the other hand was intensely selfish and ambitious. He was unique, one of those singular figures which have crossed the military and political horizon of Europe. He was a brilliant commander, of prudent statesmanship, religiously indifferent, yet not wholly so. His creed embraced a belief in God, in the Virgin Mary, in the stars, and in himself. Emboldened by the great successes of these two commanders and ably supported by Bavaria Ferdinand II. promulgated the Edict of Restitution in the year 1629, in which the emperor demanded the restitution of all church property which had been granted the Protestants by the Treaty of Passau, and the Catholic estates were given free hand to exterminate and suppress Protestantism in Austria. In short, this edict meant that Germany was to share the fate of Bohemia. Protestantism was closely pressed to the wall, when a strong hand reached forth from the land of the midnight sun and with a strong grip crumbled the edict into a worthless piece of parchment.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, came to the rescue in the nick of time in the year 1630. The Swedish king has been classed by Napoleon I. among the eight greatest generals the world has ever seen. Few generals have accomplished more in so brief a time than he in his career of more than two years in Germany. Despite his speedy army he was not able to save Magdeburg, that great defiant stronghold of Protestantism, which Tilly finally conquered. A fearful ordeal came upon this flourishing city. Nothing was sacred to the infuriated soldiers of Tilly as they rushed into the city. Womanhood, age, and infancy appealed in vain for mercy. Practically the whole city was reduced to ashes.

Tilly then invaded the entire surrounding country and with his army lived on the fat of the land, burning, pillaging and plundering and desecrating everything in every direction, since the emperor was not forthcoming with money to pay the troops. Gustavus Adolphus followed at his heels, but his was an orderly army. Wallenstein during this period had been forced to resign his command on the demand of the other Catholic princes because of his highly insulting and haughty attitude. Tilly was finally engaged in battle by the Swedish king at Breitenfeld on September 17, 1631, and completely routed



Gustave Adolph Praying

(From the Painti



the Battle of Lützen.
(Louis Braun.)

It was the first battle which the Bavarian victor in thirty-six battles had lost. This changed the entire situation of the war to the advantage of the Protestants who now rallied to the ranks of Gustavus Adolphus. The emperor in his extremity turned to Wallenstein, who took full advantage of the emperor's perilous position, exacting exorbitant demands, which Ferdinand readily granted. Wallenstein, too, went down in ignominious defeat in the battle of Luetzen on November 16, 1632, before the Swedish forces which gained a complete victory over him, but sustained the irreparable loss of their brilliant leader, Gustavus Adolphus.

The war was continued nevertheless by the Swedish government, but it turned into a brutal affair. The Swedish army degraded to the same depths as the imperial army. With the Peace of Prague in the year 1635 the religious issue faded into the background more and more and Germany became the battleground for the armies of France and Sweden, contending for political superiority. France as well as Sweden took advantage of torn and bleeding Germany for territorial aggrandizement. After five years of wrangling at Osnabrueck and Muenster the Peace of Westphalia in the year 1648 ended the horrible bloodshed and plunder. Germany had lost territorially, but had at least retained its religious liberty.

We can only review briefly the effects of this war. It destroyed practically every industry, laid waste homes, flourishing cities and almost all agriculture. Plague and starvation followed on the heels of destruction demanding a staggering toll. The population of Germany was reduced to approximately one half. The coarse, brutal, inhuman, bestial atrocities committed by the contending armies which rolled over beautiful Germany are too repugnant and disgusting to detail. Spiritually the greater part of Germany was totally demoralized. Atheism and superstition reigned supreme. But there were still a few left in Israel who did not give up hope, but started anew. Schools and education were practically annihilated and the last spark of patriotism was extinguished.

Who can measure the joy over the news that at last peace was once more to reign in the land! Who cared whether the papal legate protested against the treaty of Westphalia or that Pope Innocent X. promulgated a bull (1651), declaring the measures and provisions of the treaty "null and void, powerless, unjust, unreasonable, damnable, vain, and without any influence on the past, present, or future"! The faithful people of God fell upon their knees and thanked Him for the blessings of peace, that the horrible abomination of desolation which the despicable Jesuits had conjured up was at an end.

But this Jesuit propaganda for the restoration of Catholicism was not confined to Germany only. It was practically a world-wide movement. In Switzerland Cardinal Borromeo did effective work in uprooting Protestantism. Francis de Sales forcibly converted about 80,000 Protestants in the country around Lake Geneva. In the Netherlands Duke Alba introduced Catholicism

again by force of arms and the inquisition. The Jesuits appeared in Poland and there carried on a sagacious and sanguine Counter-Reformation and perhaps nowhere else did so effective and pernicious work. And after a decade of warfare the Jesuits came out victorious and the Protestant cause and the kingdom went down together, leaving Poland in the disrupted and dismembered condition of today. In the year 1578 the Jesuit Possevin had insinuated himself into the confidence of the king of Sweden and had converted him to Rome. But the Jesuits were later banished from Sweden because of their machinations and intrigues.

In France as we have seen the bloody religious wars were raging since the year 1562 with unabated fury and came to a close with the Edict of Nantes in the year 1598. The Huguenots guarded these liberties which they enjoyed and resented every infringement of their rights. And under the circumstances they had constituted themselves a state within the state. After ten years of irritation war broke out again. Under Louis XIII., who was a minor, the great statesman Cardinal Richelieu came into power and carried into effect his program for the advancement of France. And by his inflexible energy he brought France to the highest position of power in its history. Richelieu was implacably opposed to the factional Huguenots and set about to ruin the Huguenot party, to eliminate them from the political fabric of France. This he accomplished in two wars (1621—1629). Though the Huguenots had to give up their fortified towns and were denied the right to maintain armies, Richelieu nevertheless reaffirmed the Edict of Nantes. Richelieu was the chief power under Louis XIII. and during the minority of Louis XIV. During these years he managed to gain the confidence of the Huguenots to a remarkable degree and from the year 1629 to the year 1659 the Huguenots enjoyed a remarkable period of prosperity. Richelieu was too much occupied with international affairs to pay much attention to them, and left in peace and unmolested they made France one of the leading nations of the world. Manufacture, commercial and banking enterprises and the merchant marine were in the hands of Huguenots. Their educational institutions became famous throughout the world. In their great churches the most eloquent preachers of the age preached to audiences numbering by the thousands.

But when Louis XIV. (1643—1715) began to assert his kingship he began to restrict the rights of the Edict of Nantes and gradually pushed the Huguenots to the wall. Louis XIV. was a blight and a curse not only for flourishing France, but for almost all of Europe. "*L' état c'est moi*" (I am the state) was his motto and his policy was to subordinate everything to his selfish interests. The Jesuits became his guiding spirits who advised him to atone for his immoral life, luxury, and extravagance by persecuting the Huguenots and cleaning the country of heresy. For twenty-four years a systematic persecution was carried on which culminated in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the year 1685. Public worship was prohibited. All



Embarkation of the Body



stave Adolph at Wolgast.

Huguenot ministers had to leave the country or embrace Catholicism. The famous Huguenot schools were closed and the property of the heretics confiscated to fill the coffers of the extravagant king. Thousands of Huguenots were sent to the galleys, thousands perished in prisons, and equal numbers were cruelly executed. The dragonnades came upon them and were increased from time to time. The barbarity and bestiality of this system is beyond description. Several hundred thousand wandered to foreign countries

despite the most stringent regulations against emigration. France under Louis XIV. lost the flower of its population, a large proportion of its best intellect and manufacturing skill, which was welcomed with open arms by England, Holland, Denmark, and the Elector of Brandenburg openly espoused the cause of French Protestantism and publicly censured Louis XIV. offering the emigrants a free asylum in his country. Germany was just recovering from the effects of the Thirty Years' War and this influx of these industrious Huguenots went a long way in helping to build up its industries and agriculture. The exiled Huguenots



Louis XIV.

established manufacture abroad and raised up ruinous competition for France.

In England, Scotland, and Ireland things were no better. Here, too, the Jesuits labored day and night for the overthrow of Protestantism and the restoration of Catholicism. James I. (1603—1625), son of Mary Stuart of Scotland, came to the throne filled with hatred towards the Protestants, and the Jesuits now cherished the hope that the new king would restore Catholicism to its rightful place. But they were bitterly disappointed in the king. However strongly he may have leaned towards Catholicism, his inclination to Caesaro-papism was greater. The Jesuits caused him any amount of trouble and worry by their constant intrigues and machinations, in consequence of which

they received most severe treatment at the hands of the king. In the Gunpowder Plot of the year 1605, a conspiracy to blow up the king and his family together with the entire Parliament, was the work of Jesuits. This constant fermentation finally brought about a revolution and the overthrow of the royal house. During this period the British Isles suffered most distressingly, Ireland in particular.

In short, at the close of the seventeenth century almost entire Europe was torn, disrupted, and in a state of turmoil and upheaval. And the Jesuits were the insidious, intriguing element at the bottom. The aim of Jesuitism had been to convert the whole world into a theocracy, a domain of the pope, who was to be a mere puppet in their hands. And in the course of their unscrupulous campaign they trampled under foot all freedom of thought and in its place they sought to put absolute submission to authority. What the Reformation built up, the Counter-Reformation tore down. Yet despite this rather questionable victory of Rome over Protestantism the papacy did not succeed in restoring the theocratic system of Gregory VII. Politically the Catholic princes became just as independent as the Evangelical princes and refused to acknowledge Rome's right to dictate in these matters. The interdict the popes hesitated to use against these recalcitrants for fear of facing the ludicrous spectacle of displaying their utter loss of power to coerce these princes. The interdict was nevertheless upheld in principle, yet never put into practice again. And wherever facts of history were not acceptable to Rome, the papacy raised a voice of protest which, however, was studiously ignored. And on the other hand despite this disastrous campaign by the Jesuits there were yet seven thousand in Israel who remained faithful to the confessional standards of the Lutheran Church. These satanic operations of Jesuitism had not been successful in totally uprooting the Lutheran heresy. There may have been religious stagnation abroad in all the lands because of these distressing religious conflicts. But a nucleus of staunch Lutherans remained who upheld and continued in the work begun by Martin Luther.





The Peace-congress at
(After the Painting by Gerard Terborch)



ster, May 15, 1648.
(National Gallery at London.)

PIETISM AND ORTHODOXY.



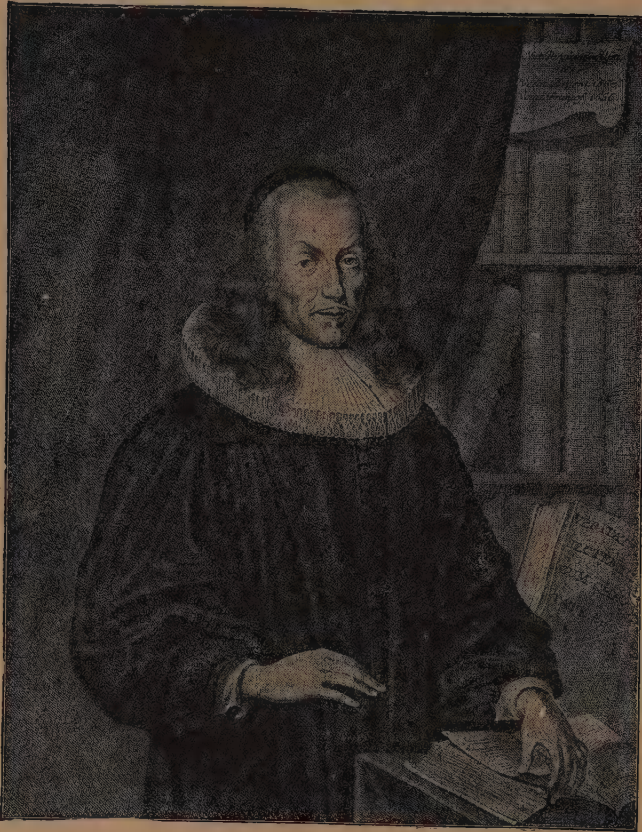
The reaction which set in against the excesses of the religious wars and revolutions which swept over Europe in the seventeenth century brought about a transformation in the general spirit of the age. The Thirty Years' War, ending with the Peace of Westphalia in the year 1648, was followed by a general decline of religious influence. In England the latter part of this century was marked by a widespread religious apathy and worldliness among the clergy, culminating in Deism which identified Christian revelation with natural religion and excluded from Christianity as ungentle and false everything that was not conformable to natural understanding. The advocates of Deism may be aptly called "freethinkers", a name which they themselves adopted. They were opposed to supernatural revelation. Reason was the norm by which everything was to be judged. Revelation, inspiration, prophecy, and miracles were rejected as philosophically untenable. But this sort of philosophical religion found little favor among the general mass of the people. It was prevalent chiefly among the intellectuals. But the influence of this unbelief was more than counteracted by the Evangelical spirit of several men like Whitefield and Wesley (Methodism) who in a sort of pietistic movement like that in Germany aroused the indifference of the clergy to a new sense of their spiritual obligations.

Deism spread rapidly to France. Here, however, the exponents of this tendency seized upon the materialistic side of this natural religion. Voltaire and Rousseau and others advocated crass unbelief and skepticism, and this rationalism went a long way in preparing the outbreak of the French Revolution in the year 1789, which abrogated Christianity and God and raised up a goddess of reason in the person of an actress in its place. Rationalism and Enlightenment held forth in all of Europe in the eighteenth century with its critical disdain of everything supernatural in the Christian religion. An unbounded skepticism was abroad which treated the Church as an institution to be maligned, scoffed at, its sacred work disregarded, and its great men treated with obloquy as fools.

In the midst of this unbelief run wild there still were seven thousand in Israel who had not bowed before Baal and who rallied and adhered to the standard of the Lutheran Church. The heart of the German people was

grounded in the Christian faith. And where the pulpits of the age offered them no spiritual food, they found it in the many writings of the faithful men of the previous age. This modern vandalism could not destroy the great faith in the hearts of mothers and fathers who taught their children the great truths of the Word of God around the family altar.

It is true the defense of the Lutheran doctrines and confessions by a number of orthodox Lutherans had developed into a formalism, a mere retention of



Ph. J. Spener.

the confessional writings. The sole requirements laid upon church members was recognition of the confessional writings of the Church as the authoritative presentation of the revealed Word of God, reception of the Word and the Sacraments, and obedience to various ordinances of church discipline. Emphasis upon the spiritual life of the members was lacking. To supply this want became the purpose of a movement, led by some no doubt earnest and sincere pastors, called Pietism. Pietism was the emphasis of religion as a personal matter and that Christianity is present where and in so far it is mani-

festated in Christian conduct. The tendency of Pietism, therefore, was the stressing of living piety in a life of intense religious feeling and a keen realization of individual sinfulness and guilt. It was on the order of our present — day revivals.

But this emphasis on religious emotion and the depreciation of the dogmas as defined in the confessional writings of the Church prepared the way for an artificial excitement of religious emotion. Pietism developed into an unhealthy excrescence upon the body of the Lutheran Church. Philip Jacob



August Hermann Francke.

(From the engraving by B. Vogel.)

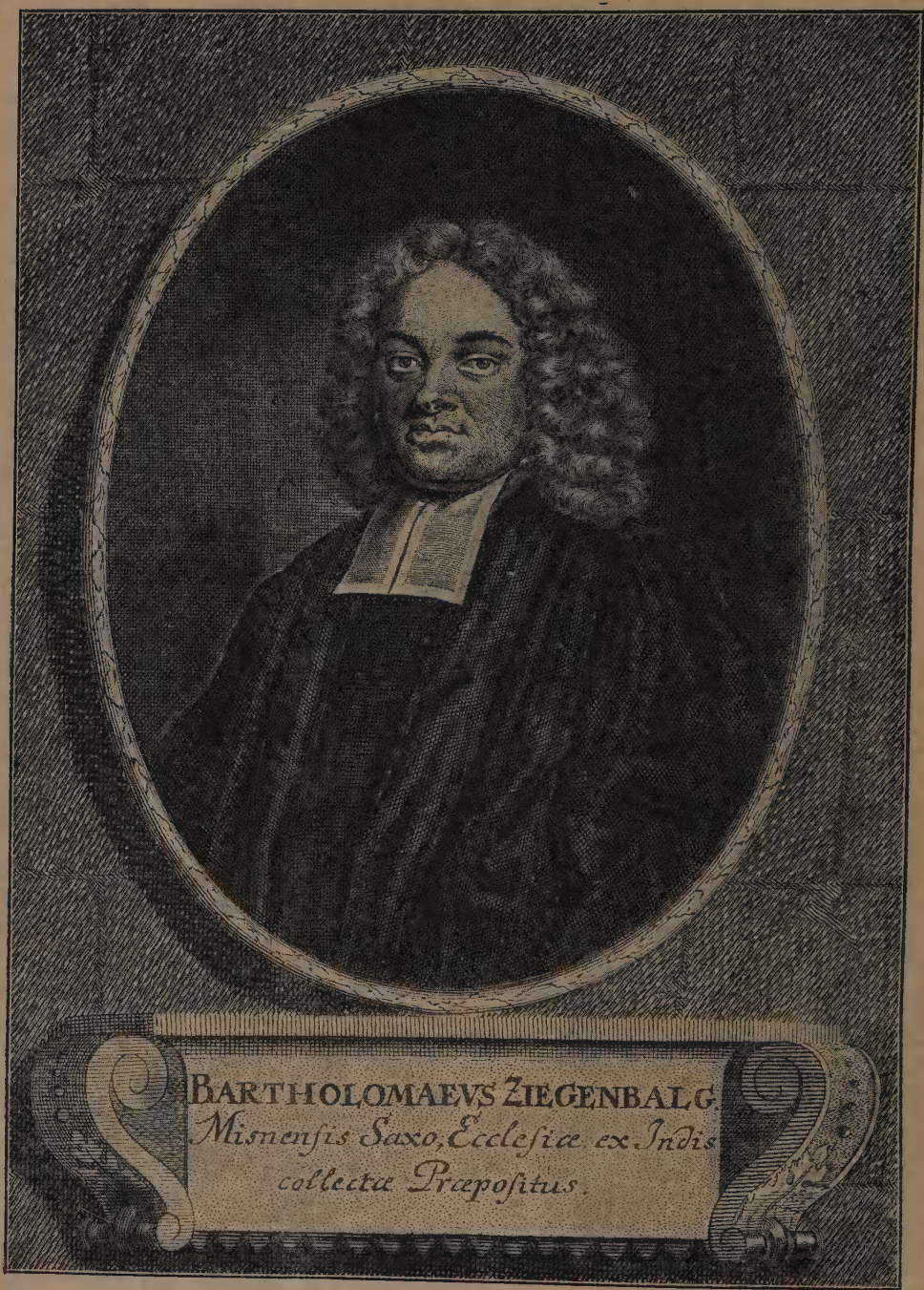
Spener (born 1635, died 1705) was the leader in this movement. He insisted that religion was a matter of personal experience. And those who had no such experience were looked down upon. He cultivated this pietistic spirit in the small assemblies which he held in his own house for prayer and exhortation. They were the prayer meetings of today. He opposed dogmatic teaching and advocated the reading of the Bible. This depreciation of learning and theology produced an unlearned ministry which in consequence was not able to cope with the vain rationalism of the age which was guided by well-educated men.

Closely associated with Spener was August Herman Francke, professor at Leipzig, who shared his views to a great extent. When the University of Halle was founded in opposition to the orthodox school at Wittenberg Francke became one of the leading professors and Halle the center of Pietism. Francke was a man of eminent knowledge and achieved enormous success in practical church work. A standing monument to his astounding activities in church work and to his undaunted faith in Divine Providence is his great orphan asylum at Halle. He began this institution by opening a

small school for poor children in his home in the year 1695, which he conducted with the aid of a few poor students. This humble undertaking of Christian charity was the seed from which sprang all the other institutions founded by Francke. There was something miraculous in the growth and rapid development of these institutions. They are a standing testimony to the faith and trust in the belief of the power of God over against the unbelief and skepticism of his age. His great trust in God awakened everywhere a spirit of liberality and contributions poured in from far and near. No less important was Francke's interest in mission work. The first missionaries to India, e. g., Ziegenbalg, were trained in the orphanage at Halle, which deserves the full credit together with



Monument to Francke at Halle.



B. Ziegenbalg, the First Lutheran Missionary.



Hans Sachs

Hans Sachs.

(From an anonymous engraving.)

the Moravians, who had settled in that part of Germany after the persecutions in Bohemia, of having inaugurated the missionary history of modern times.

Pietism spread with great rapidity to almost every part of Germany. Its lack of appreciation of the nature and importance of learning and its failure to perceive the task of theology apart from preaching led to indifferentism. There is no doubt that Christian faith demands a godly life and conduct on the part of the believers, but it also demands firm adherence to the teachings of God's Word. These doctrines of the Scripture have been laid down and formulated in the Book of Concord. All genuine Lutherans believing that the Book of Concord is the true presentation of the divine revelation as found in Scripture will adhere firmly to it. Not sentimental feeling and religious emotions, as Pietism declared, but faith rooted and grounded in the Word of God is the source and living power from which a pious Christian conduct proceeds. Pietism was a reaction against the cold spirit of scholasticism that was manifesting itself also in the Church in this age of speculation and skepticism. Pietism in a way roused orthodoxy out of its lethargy and brought it to a realization of its responsibility of permitting spiritual life among the members of the Church to languish. It arose to champion the doctrines and principles of the Lutheran Church, that the Book of Concord was not a dead letter, acknowledging at the same time the need of spiritual growth in conduct. It combined the two: adherence to creed and Christian conduct. Orthodoxy justly and very properly repudiated the unwholesome sentimentality of Pietism and its indifference with respect to the distinction between the Lutheran and Reformed doctrines. Pietism in the end was only a temporary wave which passed over Germany and by the year 1749 the pietistic controversy had ceased to attract attention.



THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

* *

EARLY BEGINNINGS.

The first diet of the reign of the youthful Emperor Charles V., which he summoned to meet at Worms on January 6, 1521, was one of the most magnificent diets in European history. On this occasion everybody who had gained any reputation whatsoever in the world came to Worms to take part in this first event in the reign of the young sovereign. And there was more than an ordinary motive which actuated so many princes, dukes, archbishops, landgraves, margraves, counts, bishops, barons, lords, as well as ambassadors of foreign countries, deputies of free cities, merchants from all quarters of Europe to assemble in the city of Worms. Great and weighty political matters were to be considered at this assembly. But there was one subject upon which the public mind was chiefly centered and which the emperor had also mentioned in his letter of convocation, namely, the alleged heresy of Luther. Before this subject all other political issues of the moment faded into insignificance.

In a letter written from Worms in March 1521, wherein the writer reports the great display of grandeur of the attendants of the diet as well as the sportiveness of the young emperor, we find an interesting remark which, one might say, connects the American continent immediately with the momentous event at Worms. We read: "There is an envoy here from the new island which was but lately discovered, who wears costly silks. About the head he and his servants wear a veil like a gypsy woman"¹). This embassy from the "new island" was a Mexican, whom Fernando Cortez had sent across the Atlantic to attend this first diet of his sovereign. The curiosity which this veiled Mexican provoked was typical of the curiosity which this "new island" had aroused in the public mind at that time. Europe was agog with the vast and wonderful treasures and the strange people it held. Little did the courageous monk of Wittenberg or the great emperor or the veiled Mexican or the resplendent thousands then at Worms realize that but a century later hundreds, even thousands, would turn their faces to that "new island" towards

¹) Graebner, *Gesch. der luth. Kirche in Amerika*, p. 3.

the sunset, then slumbering in primeval mystery, and that these would be the forerunners of a mighty people of God who would uphold just those principles and doctrines then on trial for heresy and which then were an insufferable abomination in the eyes of the emperor and his overlord, the pope.

The ban of excommunication which the emperor was prevailed upon to hurl against Luther, who had hardly set out on his way back to Wittenberg, inaugurated the first persecutions of Lutheranism in the empire, but not in Germany itself. This was the first blow which the emperor had been able to strike for the suppression of the Lutheran heresy. But in the end he ignominiously succumbed to the power of the Word of God in his effort to crush Lutheranism and he abdicated. Luther had long ago entered into the rest prepared for the people of God and the emperor had died. Another of the house of Hapsburg undertook to accomplish what his predecessor and kin had attempted in vain and brought about that terrible conflagration which tinged the heavens over Germany with a blood red hue for thirty years. The "new island", that rich treasure land in the West, was exploited to replenish the coffers of King Philip of Spain, wherewith he continued the bloody persecutions of Lutheranism, begun by his father. In the end it cost him the best portion of the Netherlands. It was here in these lowlands where the Edict of Worms of the year 1521 for the suppression of Lutheranism was enforced with a ruthlessness not shown anywhere else in Europe, — it was here in the land of dykes that a movement was started in the year 1621, whose object was none other than to attack Spain in her most vulnerable spot, viz., her pocketbook across the Atlantic. Though this movement was chiefly a commercial and political venture, it was nevertheless instrumental in transplanting the first seedlings of Lutheranism to American soil.

At the opening of the seventeenth century Holland was the mistress of the seas. Amsterdam at that time was the commercial center of the world and the Netherlands had risen to a position of affluence among the leading powers of Europe which no other nation enjoyed. The fleets of Dutch merchantmen sailed far and wide in the pursuit of trade. Much trade was carried on between Norway, Denmark, England, and Germany. Many Danes and Norwegians were in the service of the Dutch fleet. These Scandinavians played an important role in the commerce of Holland, many thousands being found in Holland every year and many families settling in the Netherlands because of the great enterprise of the Dutch. The trade channel between Holland and Germany was the Rhine¹).

In the year 1609 Henry Hudson, a master in the service of the Dutch East India Company, set out to find the northwest passage to China and instead sailed up the river which now bears his name. The reports which he brought back to Holland regarding this new country prompted a number of enterprising

¹) Evjen, *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York*, p. 12 sq.

merchants to form a private company in the year 1614, obtaining a charter from the States General of the Netherlands for the period of four years with the right of trade along these newly discovered coasts. The new region was called New Netherland. On the South it was bounded by the Delaware Bay, on the North by what is now the Canadian border of our country. The eastern boundary lay between the Hudson and the Connecticut rivers and on the west it extended to the Catskill Mountains. When the charter of this company expired in the year 1618, it could obtain no renewal. A new movement was under way which finally brought about the Dutch West India Company in the year 1621. In its charter, approved three years later by the States General of the Netherlands, it was granted exclusive jurisdiction over this new colony on the American coast, though not yet colonized. This company was entirely a commercial venture, but in its charter the government inserted a clause that this undertaking was also for the "purpose of propagating the Christian religion among the heathen", that the colony should be supplied with pious preachers and order and discipline was to be maintained. Bearing in mind that the State Church of the Netherlands at this period was Reformed, we can understand that Calvinism was to be the ruling confession in this new colony.

The Lutheran Church was already firmly established in Holland at this moment, despite the intolerant attitude of the Reformed Church and despite the persecutions of Rome. By the close of the sixteenth century there were not a few Lutheran congregations in the principal cities of the Netherlands, those in Amsterdam and Antwerp being in an exceptionally flourishing condition. Thus when the Dutch West India Company of Amsterdam was chartered by the States General in the year 1621, in all probability among those who settled Manhattan Island (purchased from the Indians for about \$120, according to today's purchasing value of gold) soon after the year 1626 and established the settlement of New Amsterdam, there were a number of Lutherans, though no mention is made of them in history until we come across the name of one Jonas Bronck, a "pious Lutheran", who came over to the settlement in the year 1639¹). His name appears today in the name of several sections of New York, as Bronx Borough, Bronx Park, Bronxville. Again, Lutherans are mentioned in the year 1643 by a Jesuit priest, Isaac Jogues, who wrote: "There is no exercise of religion except the Calvinist, and the orders declare that none but Calvinists be admitted; nevertheless that point is not observed, for besides Calvinists there are in the settlement English Catholics, Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptists, etc.". Thus one gets the impression that the Dutch Lutherans (mostly of Scandinavian descent) were the pioneers of the Lutheran Church on American soil, but it is not until the year 1648 that we come upon them in organized form in New Amsterdam,

¹) Evjen, p. 467 sq., has much interesting material regarding him.

when about 150 families formed the "Congregation of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of Faith". The Lutheran Church in organized form, however, appeared about ten years earlier on the banks of the Delaware.

About the time that Peter Minuit, the third director-general of the settlement on Manhattan Island, bought this island from the Indians, another trading company was being organized in Sweden, which was chartered by Gustavus Adolphus in the year 1626 and was approved by his government in the following year. Like the Dutch West India Company, the Swedish South Company in addition to its work of colonization and trade was commissioned to carry the Gospel to the "wild nations" in the neighborhood of the Swedish settlement. The Swedes also carried out this commission while the Dutch made no effort. The very first expedition which was sent out by this company brought with it the Lutheran faith in its established form as found in Sweden. This expedition landed on the banks of the Delaware in the year 1638 on the site of the present city of Wilmington, Del., where they built Fort Christina on land purchased from the Iroquois Indians. The first Swedish Lutheran pastor in this colony was Reorus Torkillus who shared all the hardships of the colony until his death on Sept. 7, 1643. These early colonists for the time being worshiped in the fort. But already under the successor to Torkillus, John Campanius, who had arrived in the colony in February of the year 1643 with the new governor, John Printz, a small frame church was built and dedicated by Campanius on Sept. 4, 1646. This is the first Lutheran church built on American soil and was used by these Swedes for about half a century. Campanius labored faithfully in the colony. Mindful of the instructions of his government to bring the Gospel to the neighboring "wild nations" he learned their language and translated Luther's Small Catechism into the Indian tongue. But it was not published until the year 1696. "The translation, although not the publication, of the Catechism antedates that of Eliot's Indian Bible. Eliot's New Testament appeared in 1661, and the Old Testament three years later"¹).

But at this point the interest of the Swedish Government in its colony, New Sweden, seems to have waned for some time and this caused considerable distress in the colony. Only few new colonists arrived and there seemed no relief in sight from across the seas. The Dutch of the New Netherlands also added to this discomfort. Jealous of the Swedish fur trade they made the claim that the Swedes had no right to settle on the Delaware. To the further dismay of the colonists Campanius returned to Sweden on May 16, 1648. Before he left, however, another pastor, Lars Carlson Lockenius, briefly known in the records of his time as "Domine Lars", had come from Sweden in the previous year. On Campanius' departure Domine Lars labored in the cause of the Lutheran Church in New Sweden for about forty years. Gov-

¹) Jacobs, A History of the Ev. Luth. Church in the U. S., p. 83.

ernor Printz also returned home in the year 1652. Governor Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam was making life miserable for the Swedish colony until, after some skirmishing back and forth between the Dutch and the Swedes, New Sweden in the year 1655 finally came under control of New Amsterdam. But while Peter Stuyvesant would not grant the Lutherans of New Amsterdam any freedom of worship, he did grant the Swedish Lutherans the liberty to worship according to the Augsburg Confession, however, not without the emphatic protests of the two intolerant Reformed pastors of New Amsterdam, Megapolensis and Drisius. In the year 1664 Dutch rule was superseded by that of the English who obtained possession of New Amsterdam and the whole of New Netherlands by conquest and now called the settlement on Manhattan Island New York in honor of the duke of York to whom the British king had given this province. Under the English the Lutherans were given the liberty to worship according to the dictates of their conscience.

The Lutherans of New Amsterdam, the majority of whom seem to have been Germans and Scandinavians¹⁾, had organized by this time and appealed to Holland for a Lutheran pastor. But the Consistory of the Lutheran Church at Amsterdam did not act upon this request immediately, knowing the attitude of the Reformed domines of New Amsterdam. These insisted that the Reformed Church only had a right to exist in the settlement, and on their advice Peter Stuyvesant prohibited the Lutherans from holding any religious services whatever under threat of imprisonment or fine. However, in July, 1657 despite this ruling a Lutheran pastor did arrive in New Amsterdam to the great joy of the Lutherans and to the consternation of the Reformed domines, who demanded the immediate return of the Lutheran preacher on the next ship. His name was Johannes Ernestus Goetwater (Gutwasser). Despite the efforts of the Reformed he managed to stay in the settlement until June, 1659, when the governor finally compelled him to return to Holland. But the Lutherans continued their efforts for freedom of worship and a Lutheran pastor. Domine Lars, whom we have mentioned in connection with the Swedes, served them for two years (1660—1662). In the year 1664 Dutch rule on Manhattan Island came to an abrupt end, when New Amsterdam became New York under the English. Under the first English governor, Richard Nicolls, the Lutherans were granted freedom of worship, receiving the following charter, the original of which is still in the archives of St. Matthew's Church of New York City, the direct descendant of that early congregation:

"Whereas severall Persons under my Government who professe the Lutheran Religion have taken the Oath of obedience to his Matie his Royall Highnesse, and such Governor or other Officers, as shall by their

¹⁾ Evjen, *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York*, p. 393 sq. Graebner, *Geschichte der luth. Kirche in Amerika*. p. 46 sq.

Authority be sett over them, and they having requested me for Liberty to send for one Minister or more of their Religion and that they may freely and publicly Exercise Divine worship according to their Consciences; I do hereby give my consent thereunto, provided they shall not abuse this Liberty to the disturbance of others and submitting to, and obeying such Lawes and Ordinances, as shall be Imposed upon them, by the Authority aforesaid. Given under my hand and Seale at James Fort in New Yorke on the Island of Manhatans, this 6th day of December Anno 1664. Richard Nicolls." ¹⁾

But it was not until the year 1669 that the Lutherans of New York secured a pastor, when Magister Jacobus Fabricius arrived and received permission from Governor Lovelace to serve them. At this time the Lutherans of New York and Albany formed one large parish which increased in size as time went on. For sixty years Lutheran pastors labored in this extended territory along the Hudson. Fabricius' ministry proved a disappointment. Through differences between him and his parishioners and the authorities he was finally compelled to give way to another pastor for whom the parish had applied to Holland. When Bernhardus Arensius arrived in New York in August, 1671, Fabricius was given permission by the authorities "to give his congregacon a Valedictory Sermon and to install the new Come Minister according to ye Custom of ye Augustine Confession". Fabricius with his wife then went South to the Swedes on the Delaware where he together with Domine Lars served the Swedish colonists for many years, leading an exemplary life according to the records. During the last years of his life he was totally blind, but continued faithfully to minister to the Swedes until his death in the year 1693.

Arensus remained with the Lutherans on the Hudson until his death in the year 1691. He is described as "a gentle personage and of a very agreeable behavior". That is about all that is known of him and his work, but judging by this remark he must have served the Lutherans well. On his death the Hudson Valley parish was without a pastor for ten years. Five years of this period are a blank. The records tell us nothing. Then they again appear upon the scene when they appeal to Amsterdam for a pastor, at the same time pleading inability to support him. They finally secured a pastor, but not from Holland.

What had happened to the Swedes on the Delaware? Neglect had landed them in a spiritually destitute condition at the close of the seventeenth century. Domine Lars had died in the year 1688. Fabricius succumbed a few years later. There was little or no intercourse with the mother country. Like the Lutherans of New York they merely existed. Their spiritual wants were meagerly supplied by some lay readers. But at best this was but a poor sub-

¹⁾ Facsimile given in "Oldest Lutheran Church in America," p. 12.

stitute. The young drifted away from the Church and were not educated. An old chronicle of this period describes the condition of the Lutherans on the Delaware by quoting the closing verse of the Book of Judges: "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his eyes". The few remaining faithful of New Sweden were on the verge of despair when God interposed and a new interest was taken in the colony by the Swedish government. After some correspondence to ascertain the true state of affairs and the immediate needs King Charles IX. made arrangements to have three pastors sent to New Sweden. He also ordered the printing of the Indian translation of Luther's Catechism, prepared by Campanius years before, at his own expense in the year 1696 and sent five hundred copies of it together with many other religious books along with the three pastors, Andrew Rudman, Eric Bjork, and Jonas Auren, who reached their destination in June, 1697. Religious life in the colony was revived. On July 4, 1699, Bjork dedicated a new church, The Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly known as "Old Swedes' Church", at Tranhook, now Wilmington, Del., which is still standing. He had gathered a large congregation about him. On July 2, 1700, Rudman dedicated the "Gloria Dei Church" at Wicaco, now Philadelphia, which also has remained to this day. "This old church," writes Dr. Jacobs, "well preserved, amply repays a visit from all interested in the history of the Lutheran Church in America. The men who built it were faithful Lutherans; the names upon the older tombstones around it are those of Lutherans; the pastors who preached there and were laid to rest under its shadow taught no other faith than that of the Augsburg Confession". It was in this church that Justus Falckner received the first Lutheran ordination in America, an ordination unique in the history of the American Lutheran Church, for on that occasion a German was ordained by Swedes to serve the Dutch! "All its historical associations are those of the Lutheran Church; and no other communion can enter into the fellowship of these associations except as, in addition to the mere possession of a legal title to the ground and building, such as the Turks have to Jerusalem, it acknowledges its share in the heritage of the pure teaching and the holy lives of the men whose ministry was solemnly pledged to no other doctrine than those of the Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church". Since the year 1846 Gloria Dei Church has been occupied by the Episcopal communion.

We can not go into details as to the further development of the Swedish Lutheran Church on the Delaware which ultimately led it into the fold of the Episcopal and other denominations. Even those three able pastors, who did much for the cause of Swedish Lutheranism in America and labored faithfully in their respective parishes, began though probably unconsciously the movement in which the Swedes eventually emigrated religiously and joined other denominations. Bjork, Rudman, Sandel, and others fellowshipped freely with the Episcopal and Methodist ministers of their vicinity. When the language

question later came into prominence, when one party insisted on the mother tongue to the exclusion of the English language in the services, they permitted many of the younger generation to drift into other churches, instead of spiritually providing for them in the language which they could best understand. The neglect on the part of the church authorities abroad in providing suitable pastoral care and the fact that no young men were trained for the ministry in this country, and that posts in America were looked upon as stepping-stones to better positions in Sweden, — all this and more were factors which led to the total decline of Lutheranism on the Delaware, so that the work done in this section was entirely lost to the Lutheran Church and must now be done laboriously over again.

We have noted above that the New York Lutherans were in a spiritually destitute condition at the close of the seventeenth century and that they appealed to Holland for a pastor. They appealed to Amsterdam in vain. Hearing that Rudman had resigned his pastorate on account of ill health, they appealed to him and he after some hesitation accepted the call. When he arrived in New York he found the affairs of the parish in such a neglected state that he soon found himself unable to cope with the enormous amount of work required to straighten things out. At the close of the year 1703 his health failed him altogether. In the meantime, however, he had found a successor in a young man of Philadelphia, Justus Falckner, upon whom he prevailed to accept the call to the Hudson Valley parish. Falkner turned out to be an able pastor, of great learning and devotion, who staunchly adhered to the confessional standpoint. On every page of the records of his ministrations one finds beautiful and devout prayers which fill with fragrance these otherwise musty and dusty books. For twenty years he labored faithfully in this large territory, traveling on foot, by canoe, by sailboat, on horseback, ministering to Spaniards, Italians, Dutch, English, Germans, French, Scandinavians, Indians, and Negroes. His territory covered approximately two hundred miles. He died in the year 1723.

At this point another nationality comes into prominence in the Lutheran Church in America, viz., the German. German immigration began about the year 1708 as a direct result of the Thirty Years' War which had devastated and depopulated so many cities and regions of Germany. The provinces along the Rhine had suffered sorely under the constant campaigns of Louis XIV. of France. Joshua Kocherthal, a Lutheran pastor, with a company of sixty-one persons from the Palatinate left house and home and came to America by way of England in the year 1708, and after suffering many hardships at the hands of profiteers in the New York settlement, they finally settled along the Hudson at Schoharie. In the year 1710 three thousand more Germans, not all Lutherans of course, joined them and Kocherthal labored with untiring zeal for his countrymen until his death on Dec. 27, 1719. He was the first German pastor of a German Lutheran congregation in America. He lies

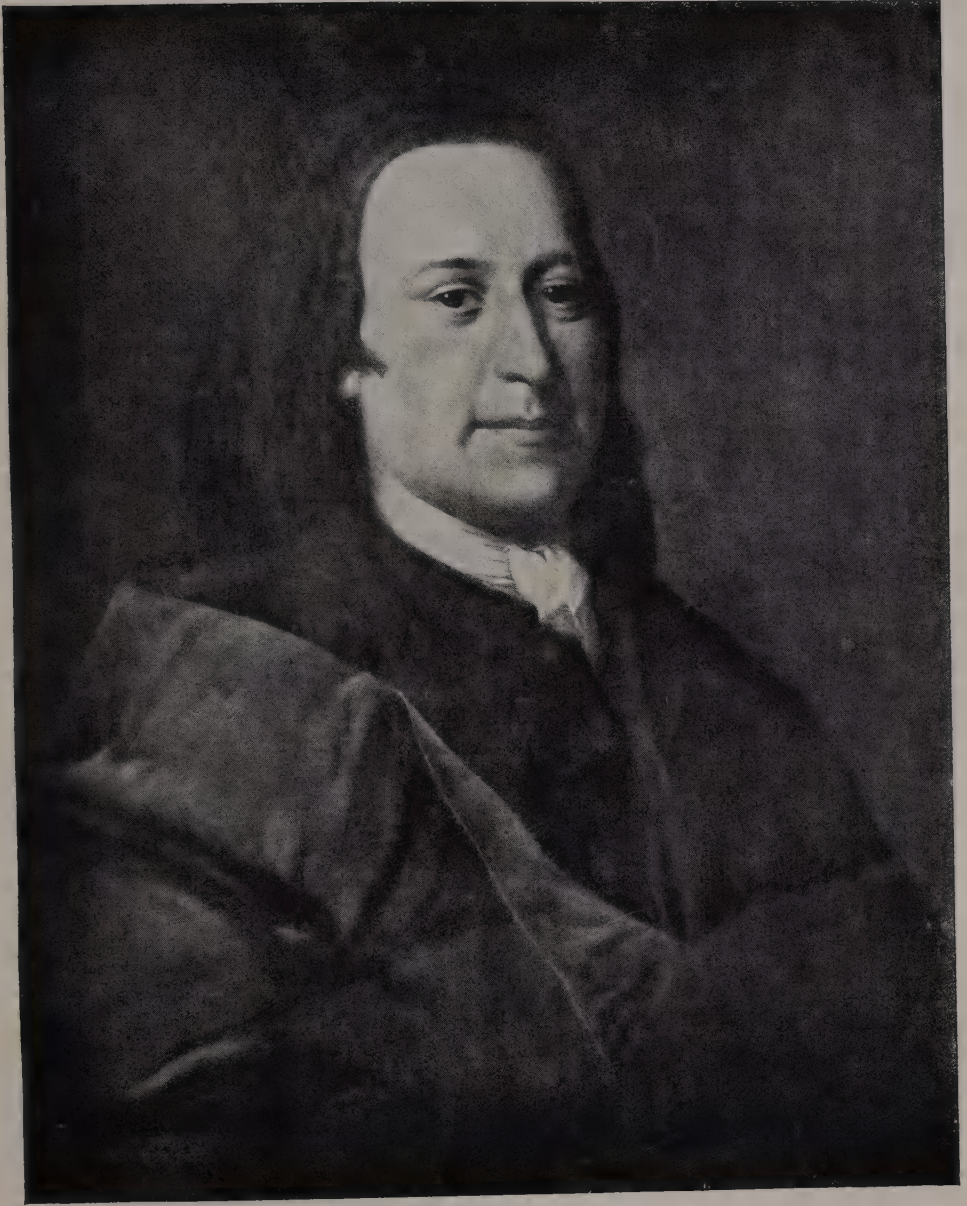
buried at West Camp on the Hudson at the foot of Mt. Overlook. The spot is marked by an old tombstone with the inscription in the German language. At his death these Germans were ministered to by Falckner. A number of them drifted three hundred miles southward down the Susquehanna and located at Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania, where Muhlenberg later discovered this German settlement when they appealed to him for pastoral care.

Falckner's successor in New York was Wilhelm Christoph Berkenmeyer. A change was now occurring in the parish on the Hudson, a change in language. The old Dutch families were dying out and they were being supplanted by Germans, especially from southern Germany. The language question made considerable difficulty for several decades in New York, splitting the congregation into two churches. Especially did the successor of Berkenmeyer suffer under these dissensions, as did also J. A. Weygand. Other denominations took advantage of this situation and the Lutheran Church lost many people to these sectarian churches. But the New York Lutherans nevertheless succeeded in maintaining themselves despite these difficulties, although the pastors during the succeeding periods did not always adhere closely to the orthodox standpoint of confessional Lutheranism.

MUHLENBERG AND THE FIRST SYNODS.

On October 6, 1683, a colony of Germans consisting of about thirteen families arrived in Philadelphia, Pa. They were welcomed by a young lawyer, Franz Daniel Pastorius, who had come to America in August of the same year. These families settled a few miles outside of Philadelphia and founded Germantown, now a part of Philadelphia. More Germans followed this first expedition who not only settled in Germantown, but in other parts of Pennsylvania as well. The first Lutheran congregation that we know of in this section of the country was at New Hanover, organized about the year 1703. Another congregation existed at New Providence. The oldest records of this church go back to the year 1729. A third congregation we find in Philadelphia, whose first pastor was one Johann Christian Schulz who came to this country in the year 1732. This is the only pastor that we know of among these Lutherans of this period. With the beginning of the eighteenth century German immigration assumed larger dimensions and gradually more Lutheran congregations sprang into existence all along the Atlantic coast.

Most prominent among these German settlements at this time was the colony of Salzburgers in Georgia. Having been expelled from their native land in southern Germany by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Firmian in the year 1731 because of their Lutheran faith, they had received a grant of land in Georgia from the British government. They landed in Georgia in the spring



Nicolaus Ludwig, Count of Zinzendorf,
at the Age of 40 Years.
(After the painting by J. Kupeczky.)

of the year 1734 with two pastors, Johann Martin Bolzius and Israel Christian Gronau. Governor Oglethorpe of Georgia gave them a hearty welcome and assisted them in establishing the colony of Ebenezer about twenty five miles inland from Savannah. After many hardships during the first winters they finally became acclimated and managed to establish both church and school, also an orphanage after the manner of Halle, Germany. By the year 1741 the colony already numbered more than 1,200, and in the course of time it had three pastors and five congregations. The colony made rapid progress both spiritually and materially. During the Revolutionary War they suffered most distressingly at the hands of the British, when churches and homes were destroyed wantonly and large plantations laid waste. They were then without pastoral care for several years until Pastor J. E. Bergman came to them in the year 1785, remaining among them till he died in the year 1824. The Salz-burgers have played an important role in the history of Georgia and their descendants are widely scattered over the entire state. There are still some of the original congregations in existence. Their history and the part they played in Georgia is yet to be written extensively and much material regarding them no doubt still lies untouched.

By the middle of the eighteenth century upwards of 30,000 Lutherans had settled in the eastern part of Pennsylvania. But there was no adequate provision for their spiritual needs. There was also much disorder among them, caused particularly by unworthy fellows who assumed the title and office of the ministry without any call or qualification. Money was the chief object of these vagabond ministers. Discouraged by this state of affairs the above-mentioned three congregations around Philadelphia united in an application to Friederich Michael Ziegenhagen of London and Gotthilf August Francke of Halle, Germany, to supply them with pastors. These two men at that time were the leaders in a widespread missionary movement. The Pennsylvania Lutherans even sent a personal delegation to urge upon these men the need of these congregations. The correspondence which was carried on from the year 1734 to 1739 in connection with this appeal was without immediate result. In the year 1741 Count Ludwig Zinzendorf, the founder of a new and rather fantastic sect called the United Brethren, arrived in Philadelphia from Germany and under the name of Herr von Thuernstein assumed the title of "Evangelical Lutheran Inspector and Pastor" of these Lutheran congregations about Philadelphia. In the fall of the same year another man by the name of Valentin Kraft, of questionable character, also had dealings with these Lutherans and added to their already confused state of mind.

While this was going on in Pennsylvania God Himself elected a man in Germany who was to be the salvation of these Pennsylvania Lutherans, a man who is justly called "the Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America", for he was indeed the greatest American Lutheran of the eighteenth century. He was the instrument in God's hand to build up an organized Lutheran

Church on this continent. The history of Lutheranism of this century is practically the life story of this important figure. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was born on September 6, 1711, at Eimbeck, Hannover, Germany. He was bred in mean circumstances, as most great men, but managed by some generous aid afforded by some friends to pursue his studies at the University of Goettingen. He was one of the first students graduated from that institution in the year 1738. He taught one year at the Orphan Asylum, Halle, where he was considered a fit candidate for the foreign mission field, which meant India. For a short period he served as pastor at Grosshennersdorf in Upper Lausatia (Oberlausitz). Encouraged by Dr. Francke he accepted the call to the three Pennsylvania congregations on September 6, 1741. The wife of the doctor was so overjoyed at his acceptance of the call to America, that she presented him with a lounging robe! Traveling over London he arrived in Charleston, N. C., on September 23, 1742. He visited the Salzburgers in Georgia and reached Philadelphia on November 25, repairing at once to New Hanover and New Providence. He found the affairs in a sad state and the people at the mercy of several impostors and ministerial vagabonds. After overcoming several difficulties he was finally recognized by the three congregations.

The difficulties which Muhlenberg encountered in bringing order into these disrupted congregations were immense and had he not been a young man of strong constitution he would not have been able to bear the heavy burden despite his indomitable will and courage. But the Lord came to his assistance as he faithfully labored on. The congregations were thirty-five miles apart and to serve them regularly meant to undergo many hardships and dangers, none of which he shunned, however. His success in the conflict with the many impostors had its immediate effect in awakening the people to new activity and respect for their new pastor, and the work soon became so enormous that in the following year he had to appeal to Halle for help. Soon his field of labor extended far beyond the boundaries of these three churches to Tulpehocken, Germantown, Lancaster, York, even to New York and New Jersey. In the spring of the year 1743 the cornerstone of St. Michael's Church was laid at Philadelphia and at about the same time that of the Augustus Church (Trappe). The latter church is still standing and close to its walls the great organizer lies buried. Up to the Revolutionary War these churches were under the direct control of Francke and Ziegenhagen and regular reports were made by Muhlenberg to Halle, which were published under the title "Halle Reports of the United German Evangelical Lutheran Churches in North America, particularly in Pennsylvania" (*Nachrichten von den vereinigten deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden in Nord-Amerika, absonderlich in Pennsylvanien. 1744—1787*). The most important work of Muhlenberg in the interest of the Lutheran Church in America, however, was the organization of the many scattered churches into a synod which he founded on August 26, 1748,

viz., the Pennsylvania Ministerium. Until the year 1786 this was the only Lutheran synod and far into the nineteenth century the largest and the most influential Lutheran body in the country. Its founding was the most important event in the history of Lutheranism of the eighteenth century.

The forming of such a synod was original with Muhlenberg, for nowhere else had such an organization been attempted. The first synod was merely an attempt at uniting those congregations of which he had direct charge into a loose, informal organization. There was no constitution; it was chiefly a conference of pastors. It was first named "The College of Pastors of the United Congregations". The lay delegates who appeared at the meetings merely reported on the affairs of their respective congregations and on the conduct of their pastors in general, but the pastors alone exercised suffrage at these meetings. After seven meetings the Pennsylvania Ministerium was dead for a period of six years. It was revived by Muhlenberg in the year 1760 and reorganized. In the year 1778 a constitution was adopted in which was embodied the practical experience of the previous years. The early records contain no reference to the Lutheran confessions, but they were nevertheless the doctrinal standards for Muhlenberg who, as well as all the others who labored with him, was pledged to them at ordination. Adherence to the Lutheran confessional writings was included in the constitutions of the churches. The first constitution of the reorganized synod contained this pertinent clause: "Every minister professes that he accepts the Word of God and our symbolical books", further asserting that the pastors were subject to discipline for "positive errors opposed to the plain teachings of the Holy Scriptures and our symbolical books". Muhlenberg was the author of this constitution as well as of the first liturgy of the year 1748 which was used in these churches. In these matters he became the pioneer of synodical organization and his constitution long served as a model for those of other synods which directly or indirectly issued from the Pennsylvania Ministerium. There is no doubt or question that Muhlenberg was the leader of Lutheranism in this country in this period of its history. "Depth of religious conviction, extraordinary inwardness of character, apostolic zeal for the spiritual welfare of individuals, absorbing devotion to his calling and all its details, were among his marked characteristics. These were combined with an intuitive penetration and extended width of view, a statesmanlike grasp of every situation in which he was placed, an almost prophetic foresight, coolness, and discrimination of judgment, and peculiar gifts for organization and administration".¹⁾ We might add in passing that his "extended width of view" led him into promiscuous intercourse with other sectarian preachers, which we consider the one marring feature in his otherwise great career. His pietistic tendencies he had inherited from Halle. He died October 7, 1787. He left three sons who

¹⁾ Jacobs, *Lutheran Cyclopedia*.

Hageman, *Sketches from the History of the Church*.

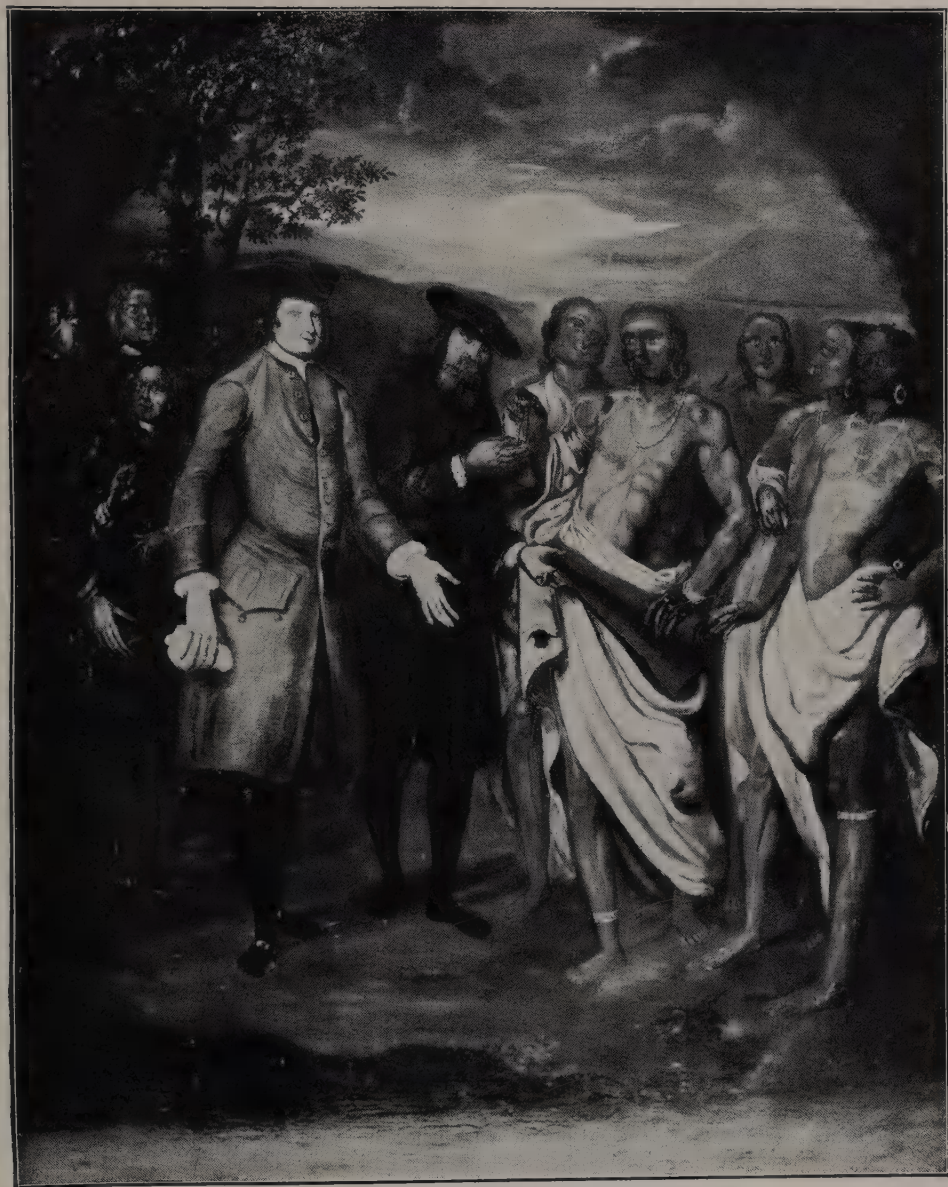
distinguished themselves in greater or less degree. Two, John Peter Gabriel and Frederick August Conrad, left the ministry and followed political careers, while the third, Gotthilf Heinrich Ernst, continued in the ministry until his death, but also achieved fame in the field of botanical research.

Shortly after Muhlenberg's death the second Lutheran body was organized, of which one of his sons was virtually the founder, viz., the New York Ministerium, in the year 1787. Johann Christopher Kunze, a prominent and learned scholar in his day, held the leading position in this body of which he was the president until his death in the year 1807.

LUTHERANISM IN THE WILDERNESS.

THE period in the Lutheran Church in America upon which we enter now has fitly been called the "Middle Ages" by Dr. Graebner. The waves of rationalism and materialism, of unbelief and skepticism which ran high in Europe at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century also rolled over the American Lutheran Church. The larger portion of Lutheranism had fallen prey to an "Americanism" which manifested itself in a rampant spirit of indifferentism, unionism, and revivalism. In fact modernism was the cry of the day. The Lutheran standards were considered obsolete and genuine Lutheran books were discarded for more modern publications which were to give "due regard to the needs of the rising generations". Staunch Lutheranism was completely on the wane. And closely at the heels of this indifferentism and unionism followed the abandonment of and opposition to the Lutheran confessions, working untold harm to the Lutheran Church in general. Some sections of Lutheranism are still suffering from this blight. Characteristic of this period is the founding of an organization in the South called "Unio ecclesiastica of the German Protestant Church of South Carolina", which was an effort to carry out in practice the idea of a union of the Lutheran and the Reformed churches with one governing body. This unique body was formed in the year 1787 and managed to exist until the year 1794 when it died a natural death. This unionistic attempt is a glaring example into what wild extravagances the Lutherans of this period were led, who had lost every sense of direction after discarding the beacon lights of the Lutheran Church.

As noted above the scattered units of the Lutheran Church were first organized by H. M. Muhlenberg when he founded the Pennsylvania Ministerium in the year 1748. The next synodical body to be formed was the New York Ministerium in the year 1787 by a son of the great organizer. In the preface to the "Hymn- and Prayer-Book" published in the year 1795 Dr. Kunze, then the leader of the New York Ministerium, wrote: "To the late H. M. Muhlenberg belongs the immortal honor of having formed in Pennsylvania a regular



Zinzendorf Concluding a Treaty with the
Chiefs of the Five Great Indian Nations.

ministry, and what is more remarkable, to one of his sons who officiated as Lutheran pastor from 1773 to 1776 in the city of New York, that of having formed the Evangelical ministry of New York State".¹⁾ It is true, the son of Muhlenberg may not have had an active part in the organization of the year 1787, but it was he nevertheless who took the first steps towards the formation of such a body when he extended the invitation to all Lutheran pastors of New York to attend a conference at Albany for that purpose. His ideas were carried out later in the forming of the New York Ministerium which was organized along the same lines as the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the only difference being that in New York the lay delegates possessed the vote on all matters, except the admission of candidates to the ministry and doctrinal matters. This was the first time the lay delegates were granted more than the mere privilege of report. As its constitution it adopted the revised one of the older synod of the year 1792, in which all confessional tests had vanished, although the pastors were still required to make a declaration or "Revers" promising to conduct their office in accordance with the Word of God and the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, confessional indifference and rationalism broke out in the New York Ministerium which threatened to destroy every vestige of Lutheranism. The "ignis fatuus" of modernism led its pastors into a wilderness of innovations. There was nothing to stem the tide since all confessional standards had been discarded. Dr. Quitman was elected to the presidency of the New York Ministerium in the year 1847. He was an outspoken pupil of Semler, the father of rationalism. "Luther's Small Catechism was superseded by a so-called Evangelical Catechism from which the doctrine of the Trinity is omitted, the ground for Christ's death represented 'that He might seal the doctrine which He had preached with His blood', and according to which 'saving faith' is an 'impressive sense of the glorious perfections of God'. The Hymn- and Prayer-Book of Dr. Kunze had to make room for a hymn-book similar in character to the Ev. Catechism. This was largely used in the English Lutheran churches in this country, and though revised, has not conduced to the strengthening of Lutheran consciousness". The New York Ministerium had completely fallen away from Lutheranism. "Methodistic measures were introduced and used by the great majority of pastors, while the instruction of the young was neglected. Pastors and churches followed in the wake of that which was then popular and in vogue among the surrounding denominations. But this produced a sad state of affairs in the churches. In their parochial reports some of the more conscientious and observing pastors complained of the mischief this revivalism wrought in the churches".²⁾ But with the revival of confessionalism in the West the

¹⁾ Nicum, Geschichte des New York-Ministeriums, p. 47.

²⁾ Lutheran Cyclopedia, p. 491.

New York Ministerium beginning with the year 1852 was sobered and brought back to a more wholesome position in the Lutheran Church.

The opening of the nineteenth century also marks the revival of the organizing spirit which has continued to the present day, and at the same time a tendency to return to the old confessional writings began to manifest itself. Various and different causes acted contributory to the organizing of synods during this period, the details of which we can not bring here. In the case of the North Carolina Synod, organized in the year 1803, it was the spirit of self-preservation which prompted these pastors and congregations to unite, when the wave of revivals swept over the country and threatened to wipe out all denominational lines. The men active in the founding of this synod came from the ranks of the Pennsylvania Ministerium and naturally were imbued with the same spirit of indifference which pervaded the mother synod at that time and showed itself here in the utter lack of any reference to the symbolical books; not even the term "Lutheran" was found anywhere in the records. But in the revision of the constitution in the year 1817 the Augsburg Confession was formally and publicly recognized as the basis of this synod's doctrine and practice, although hardly any of the members lived up to the standards laid down in the Augsburg Confession. Nevertheless, the North Carolina Synod has the distinction of being the first Lutheran body in America publicly to embody the Augustana in its basic instrument. Since the year 1885 this synod has been a member of the United Synod in the South.

THE OHIO SYNOD.

An interval of fifteen years then elapsed after the founding of the above-named body, when in the year 1818 the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Adjoining States was organized as the outcome of Special Conferences which had been formed by itinerant pastors of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. These pastors came to Ohio as early as the year 1805. The first constitution of the Ohio Synod was an exact reproduction of that of the mother synod and so without any particular reference to the confessions, true to the spirit of the times. Since the year 1833 this body has been called the Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States. Dr. W. Sihler, who had come to America on the appeal of Wyneken, became the leader of the conservative element in the Ohio Synod which protested against the importations in doctrine and practice from the General Synod which the Ohio Synod never joined when it was formed in the year 1820. When the demands of these conservatives were refused they withdrew from the Ohio Synod and later affiliated with the Missouri Synod. This withdrawal, however, had a sobering effect. At any rate the Ohio Synod thenceforward steadily improved its confessional position, so that in the year 1848 when its constitution was revised the pastors

were pledged to all the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church as a correct exposition of the Word of God. The Ohio Synod also early recognized the importance of education in church work and in the year 1830 opened a theological seminary at Canton, Ohio, practically as primitive in the beginning as that of the Missouri Synod. Three years later this institution was removed to Columbus, Ohio, and since the year 1850 has been enlarged to Capital University. Professor Lehmann and Dr. M. Loy were the leading men in the synod, taking an active part in all the early developments. In the year 1842 it began the publication of the "Lutheran Standard", of which W. F. Lehmann was editor-in-chief until his death in the year 1880 and Dr. Loy was the associate editor (1864-1891). Through the increase in German immigration the synod grew rapidly and by reason of its uncompromising confessional position at that time came in contact with the Missouri Synod. Conferences were held between these two bodies about the middle of the nineteenth century, the outcome of which was a mutual recognition of orthodoxy in doctrine and practice. The Missouri Synod under the leadership of Dr. Walther from that time on exerted a strong influence upon the Ohio body, especially in connection with the General Council. When this general body declined to satisfy the inquiry of the Ohio Synod on the subject of the Four Points, it declined to join in the formation of the General Council, but in the year 1872 joined in the organization of the Synodical Conference under the leadership of Dr. Walther. In the meantime it had also established a German periodical called "Die Lutherische Kirchenzeitung" (1860). And in the year 1877 the Ohio Synod through Capital University conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon Walther, indicating the intimate friendship that existed between Ohio and Missouri. It is to be regretted that shortly succeeding events destroyed these friendly relations.

About the year 1880, even earlier, Professor F. W. Stellhorn who had been professor at a college of the Wisconsin Synod and at the Missouri Synod college at Fort Wayne, Ind., came into prominence through the controversy on predestination which broke out about that time. The Norwegian professor at St. Louis, F. A. Schmidt, also took a large part in this dispute which lay between Walther, Schmidt, and Stellhorn. Schmidt eventually severed his connection with the Norwegian Synod which had previously withdrawn from the Synodical Conference, and formed the Antimissourian Brotherhood. To a certain extent Professor Stellhorn sided with Schmidt in opposition to Walther. Stellhorn was then called to Capital University and undoubtedly was the leading scholar of the Ohio Synod. He and Dr. Loy exerted a large influence in the shaping of the doctrinal position of the Ohio Synod, which has remained an independent body ever since its withdrawal from the Synodical Conference in the year 1881.

It is divided into twelve districts which meet annually, except every third year when the whole body meets in general convention. Its statistics show

746 pastors 954 congregations, and about 152,000 communicants.¹⁾ It maintains a practical seminary, a teachers' normal school, and many benevolent institutions.

Its position in doctrine and practice coincides in large part with that of the Synodical Conference, more so than with any other body. It has taken a decided stand on the question of the so-called Four Points: secret societies, chiliasm, altar fellowship, and pulpit fellowship. Its attitude to secret societies is as follows: "'The rule among us must be, and ever remain, that members of secret societies can not be received as members of our congregations, nor may they continue their membership or be admitted to the Holy Supper an indefinite length of time.' When a society, such as that of the Free Masons, Odd Fellows, and those of similar character, inculcates rationalistic principles subversive of Christianity, destroying souls by leading them to trust in another righteousness than that of Christ, and to engage in another worship than that of the triune God, while at the same time it abuses the sacred oath and teaches and practices a so-called charity that is not in harmony with the gospel, we can not regard its adherents, whatever their professions or their intentions may be, as in a proper condition for membership in the Christian Church and communion at her altar. With those who are willing to do nothing against these antichristian powers, and say nothing while souls committed to their charge are led to ruin by secretism, we are not agreed, and can not have fellowship".²⁾

Chiliasm in accord with the XVII. Article of the Augsburg Confession is condemned. "The kingdom of our Lord is not of this world, but is a kingdom of grace. Christ shall come at the last day, not to establish a temporal kingdom, which would be essentially different from that which is already established, and in which He reigns by His Word and sacraments as His blessed means of grace unto salvation".³⁾

The synod maintains an exclusive attitude in the matter of pulpit fellowship. "In the eyes of the Joint Synod, admitting ministers of other churches and of a different confession to our pulpits is inconsistent with her profession and duty . . . (But) the Lutheran Church would betray the insincerity of her confession if she permitted men to teach in her congregations who do not even profess to believe her doctrines, and who, as regards the distinctive articles of her faith, avow their dissent from her teaching. Fully assured that what she confesses is the truth, . . . she can not entrust the work of teaching in her churches and schools to men who do not agree with her concerning the doctrine of the gospel which she publicly proclaims in her symbols".⁴⁾

¹⁾ According to latest census of the Government, 1918.

²⁾ Dr. Loy, *The Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the Ev. Luth. Church*, p. 19.

³⁾ l. c. p. 21.

⁴⁾ l. c. p. 21.

A like clean-cut position is taken in the matter of altar fellowship. "Admitting members of other denominations to communion in our churches would be practically declaring that the differences between them and us do not pertain to the faith, but are merely matters of human opinion which belong to the sphere of liberty; that therefore the Lutheran Church has grievously erred in putting her distinctive doctrines into her Confession as a part of the Christian Creed; and that by asserting agreement in these, as well as in other parts of her Confession, to be requisite to true unity and therefore a necessary condition of membership and fellowship, she has made needless divisions in the Church. . . . She can not admit that the Lutheran Church sets forth human opinions as articles of faith, and thus seeks to bind human ordinances on the consciences of Christ's free people. In her eyes such an admission would undermine her confessional foundation and brand the great Church of the Reformation as an evangelical sect, which before God has no right to exist. . . . Meantime it does not enter our hearts to think or say that all other denominations are not churches, or that their members are not Christian. . . . But we could not answer for it on judgment day if by word or act we gave our sanction to their error".¹⁾

There has been a long controversy between the Ohio and the Missouri Synods on the doctrines of conversion and election the end of which is not yet. No attempt is made here to relate the course of this dispute. We must content ourselves here with a statement in which the Ohio Synod's position is summarily expressed.

"Practically the Lutheran Church has always been a unit in the rejection of those gloomy errors which center in the theory of absolute election to faith and irresistible grace for a chosen few. While she never swerved from the fundamental truth that salvation is by grace alone, she just as firmly maintained the other fundamental truth that salvation is by faith alone, as the only means by which the soul can appropriate the merits of Christ. . . . Salvation is by grace alone, and all the glory of it belongs to God; and yet the rule is clearly revealed that 'he that believeth shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned'. Faith is necessary to salvation. For human thought there is unquestionably a difficulty in the doctrine. If it depends wholly on God's will who shall be saved, it is not easy to see how, since the Scriptures declare that the will of God is the salvation of all, any soul should be lost; if it depends in any degree on man, it is not easy to see how, since the Scriptures declare that all are dead in trespasses and sins, any soul should be saved. To overcome this difficulty, Calvinists assume that God makes a difference by electing some and not electing others, by His sovereign right choosing some persons whom He pleases to save, and by His sovereign might accomplishing His pleasure in the chosen few, while all the others are passed

¹⁾ l. c. p. 21.

by and left to perish in their helplessness. The dreadful solution satisfies the reason of many, and in these evil days even some of the Lutheran name have been induced to adopt it in its main features, arguing indeed that salvation is thus still by faith, because God always makes believers of those whom He elects to salvation, but overlooking the fact that in the same sense salvation is by good works, since He always leads His people heavenward in the paths of holiness. Salvation is by faith, but it is not by man's power and merit. Faith is the gift of God, but it is not forced upon man; it has no merit of its own, but appropriates Christ's merit. Salvation is all a work of God's grace, and all the praise belongs to Him. But when God calls men by the gospel it is His will that not only an elect portion of the called, but that all should believe and be saved, and He offers to all of them the grace needful to this end. If any to whom the word of this salvation is sent are not saved, it is only because the will of God, which in the domain of grace never works irresistibly and never coerces the human will, was willfully resisted. Matt. 22: 37. Whatever may be the explanation of the mystery encountered in the doctrine of human conversion by divine grace, we are quite sure that it is not to be found in the unscriptural assumption that with God there is respect of persons, and that He saves some because He wills it and elects them to faith and salvation, and does not save others because He had not the will to elect them. He would have all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth, and is 'not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance'. 2 Peter 3: 19. The responsibility of choosing death rather than life rests wholly upon the unbelieving sinner".¹⁾

THE FIRST EFFORTS AT A UNION OF SYNODS.

General Synod. United Synod in the South.

So far we have had unions of pastors and congregations into synodical bodies. With the year 1820 we come upon another movement in the Lutheran Church in America, when the first effort was made to consolidate synods into one general body. To have all the Lutheran units gathered into one organization seems to have been the aim of those who made the first successful attempt at synodical organization in the year 1748. But this end was never really achieved. The constitution of the Pennsylvania Ministerium of the year 1781 still betrays the tendency in that direction in its title "An Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of North America". When the New York Ministerium was founded the older body assumed the more modest title of "The German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States". In the year 1803 another synod came into being in the South.

¹⁾ 1. c. pp. 30-34.

The tercentenary of the Reformation in the year 1817 again produced the expression that "a union of the entire Evangelical Lutheran Church of these United States into a central body" would assist greatly in carrying on the work of the Church more effectively. Beginning with the year 1820 a new, strong influx of immigration began which increased with leaps and bounds, so that from the year 1820 to 1892 the number of German immigrants reached 4,731,023, among whom were a large number of Lutherans.¹⁾ This awakened missionary activity. The majority of these immigrants came to our shores from religious motives and the coming of this new element into the Church caused the awakening of the Lutheran Consciousness. Some of them were intensely Lutheran. The Pennsylvania Ministerium took the initiative in furthering the spirit of union of all Lutheran bodies then in existence into one organization, in order to more effectively cope with the rising tide of immigration. "The aim was to find some way whereby the unity of organization might be maintained while local interests might be more efficiently administered by a subdivision, and then ask New York and North Carolina to unite with the new districts of the old Ministerium of Pennsylvania in forming a central body".²⁾ The initiative of the Pennsylvania Ministerium consisted in a resolution passed in the year 1818 that "in its judgment, it would be well if the Evangelical Lutheran synods in the United States were to stand, in some way or other, in true union with one another", and a committee was appointed to correspond with the other synods, New York and North Carolina, on the subject. It was a very timely movement; for three synods were already in existence and the forming of other synods was in evidence. The Ohio Conference was already taking steps to become a separate body. In various other sections like movements were going on. The more separate bodies, the greater the danger, considering the conditions of that period, of a divided spirit among the Lutherans in the East and the less the possibility of cooperation in meeting the missionary demands.

At a meeting of pastors in Baltimore in the year 1819 a committee prepared "A Proposed Plan", which was sent to all the synods. The New York Ministerium favored a union of some kind, but was not ready to adopt the plan offered by the Pennsylvanians. It sent a delegate to the convention at Hagerstown, Md., in the year 1820 when the organization of the "Evangelical Lutheran General Synod in the United States of North America" was effected. The Ohio Synod, which in the meantime had also been organized, at first adopted the plan of the mother synod in the hope that some blessing might accrue therefrom, but on second thought it decided in the following year to let the matter rest for the time being, where it has remained ever since. On October 11, 1820, the Virginia Conference of the Pennsylvania Ministerium became the Maryland-Virginia Synod which joined in the formation of the

¹⁾ Jacobs, History, p. 354.

²⁾ Jacobs, History, p. 357.

new general body. Four months previous to this a split had occurred in the North Carolina Synod, when a number of its pastors withdrew and formed the Tennessee Synod. This synod not only stood aloof from the new general body, but in addition registered a public and emphatic protest against the proposed organization in the "Objections of the Committee Against the Constitution of the General Synod". This one may consider the first serious controversy in which the Lutheran Church became publicly involved, viz., between "General Synodism" and "Henkelism" (members of the Henkel family of New Market, Va., were the founders of the Tennessee Synod).

It had been stipulated in the proposed plan for the organization of the General Synod that if three-fourths of the then existing synods adopted it the constitution should be considered binding. But when the convention to adopt the constitution was held in Hagerstown, Md., in October, 1820, three synods only, Pennsylvania Ministerium, North Carolina, and Maryland-Virginia Synod, joined the organization. The New York Ministerium sent a delegate, but he had no instructions to take an active part. There being six synods in existence by that time, the three-fourths was not achieved. The first convention of the General Synod was held in October, 1821, at Frederick, Md. Representatives of the three above-mentioned synods were present, but New York and Ohio failed to appear. Two years later (1823) the prime mover in this whole affair, the Pennsylvania Ministerium, felt constrained to withdraw because of dissatisfaction in its midst. (It did not return to membership until thirty years later.) The General Synod under the circumstances was really a failure, but it continued nevertheless. "The General Synod was a protest against the Socinianizing tendency in New York and the schemes of a union with the Reformed in Pennsylvania and with the Episcopalians in North Carolina. It stood for the independent existence of the Lutheran Church in America, and the clear and unequivocal confession of a positive faith. It failed, as its founders in the several synods had failed, in specifically determining the contents of this faith".¹⁾ And because of this indeterminate confessional position (the representative of the North Carolina Synod made a futile effort to have the Augsburg Confession embodied in the constitution of the General Synod)²⁾ it failed to exert the wholesome influence on the Lutheran Church at large which had been expected of it.

The General Synod represented merely the minority of Lutherans in America and the most liberal kind of Lutheranism. "The recession of the parent synod, which constituted more than one-half of the Church, spread a gloom over the proceedings and produced the impression that the General Synod would prove a failure".³⁾ In reality it was. For years the three small synods of North Carolina, Maryland-Virginia, and West Pennsylvania

¹⁾ Jacobs, History, p. 362.

²⁾ Kraushaar, Verfassungsformen, p. 443.

³⁾ Singmaster, Distinctive Doctrines and Usages, p. 37.

upheld the organization. In the year 1831 the Hartwick Synod, an offshoot from the New York Ministerium, joined it and four years later the South Carolina Synod. In the year 1837 the New York Ministerium finally came in. "In 1829 there were one hundred and twenty-three ministers in the synods not connected with the General Synod, and seventy-four within it. In 1834, out of 60,971 communicants the General Synod had 20,249, and the Ministerium of Pennsylvania 26,882".¹⁾ — "In 1860, when it attained its greatest comparative strength, it embraced 864 out of 1313 ministers, and 164,000 out of 245,000 communicants, or about 66 per cent of the entire Lutheran Church of America".²⁾ This increase was due to the return of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, and its greatness in numbers lasted but a short time.

When the Civil War broke out in the spring of the year 1861 it brought about the first serious rupture in the General Synod when all of the southern synods withdrew and the Scandinavians in the Northern Illinois Synod, the second occurring in the year 1866 when the Pennsylvania Ministerium again severed its connection, this time to organize another general body. The separation of the southern synods from the General Synod was the result of intense party feeling between the North and the South which broke out in the ranks of the General Synod, culminating in the passing of a resolution by the General Synod in convention at Lancaster, Pa., in the spring of the year 1862, severely denouncing the cause of the South. Thus condemned for their loyalty to the cause of the Confederacy several synods withdrew and organized the "General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Confederate States of America" at Concord, N. C. on May 20, 1863. Five synods took part, viz., North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Southern Virginia. In its doctrinal basis it declared the Scriptures the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the ecumenical creeds and the Augsburg Confession the exponents of this faith, however, leaving the construction and interpretation of certain articles to the judgment of the individuals. But this liberal clause was not long after removed as the appreciation of a strict confessional Lutheranism grew in its midst. The influence of the Tennessee Synod played a large part in this matter. It was very strongly conservative at this time, although it was not then a member of this southern body.

During and after the war this organization made no appreciable headway, barely maintaining its existence. At the end of the war the name was changed to "Evangelical Lutheran Synod, South", continuing to be an independent body. A desire for a more effective union of the southern synods began to stir when the Tennessee Synod made overtures in the year 1867. The conservative spirit became increasingly manifest, filtering down from the Middle West. In the year 1868 the Holston Synod joined the General Synod, South, and four years later the Mississippi Synod became a member. The union

¹⁾ Jacobs, History, p. 363.

²⁾ Singmaster, Distinctive Doctrines, p. 38.

movement for one general body gained in strength and assumed the form of an endeavor to organize a new general body on the basis of the Book of Concord. This brought about the "United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South" at Roanoke, Va. in the year 1886, accepting essentially the same doctrinal and confessional basis as the General Council. The Tennessee Synod joined this organization.

Territorially the United Synod occupies chiefly the South Atlantic States. It is almost entirely an English speaking body, the membership of its churches being composed chiefly of the descendants of the immigrants who came to this country in the eighteenth century. For this reason one may say that it is "the most purely American part of the Lutheran Church in this country". This characteristic has also exposed it more than any other to the detrimental influences from without, especially those peculiar to the South, predominantly Reformed in tendency. The majority of its synods having been previously members of the General Synod (North) also shared in all the characteristics of that body. The leaders of the southern body at that time were for the most part young men open to influences then abroad in the Lutheran Church. Conservatism permeated the South in a measure and the confessional principles came to the fore. The Tennessee Synod may be said to have been the exponent of this conservative sentiment in the South and to some extent is still today.

With respect to the Four Points the Tennessee Synod is pointed out as "unique among the synods constituting the United Synod in having rules against pulpit and altar fellowship and secret societies", while the United Synod as such "declined to legislate on these subjects". However, to satisfy the Tennessee Synod "the United Synod has pledged itself not to employ in its general work, in its theological seminary, in its mission operations, in the editing of its official organ, any person who would foster secretism or unionistic fellowship".¹⁾ Its attitude to other denominations is stated thus: "Recognition of common Christianity and general religious and moral interests prevents the spirit of aloofness; but consciousness of the difference between the Lutheran Church and others begets a reserve towards other bodies and towards interdenominational movements and organizations". No delegates or official visitors are exchanged with any but Lutheran bodies, but "on the other hand invitations to occupy pulpits of other denominations at synodical conventions are freely accepted. . . . Co-operation with others, if it appears really profitable, is not regarded as a violation of confessional consistency. At the same time there is a general disposition to exercise caution against entangling alliances. . . . But ministers of the United Synod freely and cordially enter into local ministerial associations". The United Synod thus feels that its position is neither rigidly exclusive nor regardless of confessional principle.²⁾

¹⁾ Voigt, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 188.

²⁾ Voigt, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 189.

Its doctrinal position is expressed thus: "The Southern Lutheran believes without qualification in the Bible as the inspired Word of God. He believes that the doctrines contained in Luther's Catechism, the Augsburg Confession and the other confessions in the Book of Concord are grounded in the Word of the Scriptures. He especially realizes the vital importance of the doctrine of justification by faith with its presuppositions of original sin and the condemnatory character of all sin, and with its implications of the divinity of Christ and the vicarious atonement by His merits. He is very much awake to the importance of the means of grace, Word and sacraments, for the application of salvation, including the realistic conception of baptism as a means of regeneration and of the communion as the imparting of the true body and blood of Christ".¹⁾

The Lutherans of the South must be given the credit of being the prime movers in the endeavor to produce a Common Service for all English speaking Lutheran churches. In the year 1876 the United Synod opened negotiations with the General Synod and the General Council which resulted in co-operation between these three synods through a joint committee. The work of this committee was adopted by all three bodies and also by the English Synod of Missouri and the Joint Synod of Ohio.

Nearly all the synods connected with the United Synod own academies or colleges or schools. The theological seminary owned by the United Synod is located at Columbia, S. C., and the official organ of the general body is "The Lutheran Church Visitor". The following synods belong to the United Synod: North Carolina (1803), Tennessee (1820), South Carolina (1824), Virginia (1829), Southwestern Virginia (1842), Mississippi (1835), Holston (1861). Its statistics (1906) show: 271 pastors, 490 congregations, 53,705 communicants.

Returning now to the further development of the General Synod from the time of the Civil War, when the southern synods branched off, we find that it then embraced twenty-three synods. As we have seen, the first half of the nineteenth century was a barren period for the Lutheran Church in the Eastern states. It was the period of rationalism and we come now into its aftermath. Although the General Synod had established a theological seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., in the year 1825, the new generation of pastors at this time knew very little of distinctively Lutheran theology, being dependent chiefly on Calvinistic or American textbooks. They were unacquainted with the Lutheran sources and the wealth of literature surrounding them. In addition to this handicap the churches were paralyzed by the wave of revivals and new measures which then swept over the country. Preaching became hortatory rather than doctrinal and the ways of the fathers were looked upon with suspicion. Creeds were found irksome and not being educated to the terms used in Lu-

¹⁾ Voigt, *ibidem*, p. 186.

theran theology the confessional writings, where they still were known, were misunderstood and misinterpreted. When the Pennsylvania Ministerium again entered the ranks of the General Synod in the year 1853 it brought with it a considerable conservative element which from the outset began to exert a strong pressure in the direction of a more confessional stand. A division of sentiment soon became noticeable. The conservative element sought to conserve the Lutheran consciousness and "an appreciation of the peculiar gifts and responsibilities of the Lutheran Church". The Pennsylvania Ministerium to a great extent was the exponent of this conservatism. The liberal element made itself felt in a powerful current of unionism and indifferentism, emanating from Gettysburg and standing against a rigid interpretation of the Lutheran confessions, considering the doctrines which separate the Lutheran and the Reformed churches unessential and looking upon "Luther's peculiar views concerning the presence of the Lord's body in the communion" as behind the times. As the demands of the conservatives increased, the opposition of the liberals became more determined. Then the matter came to a head in the publication of the "Definite Platform" by Dr. S. S. Schmucker, the first professor of the Gettysburg seminary and the leading theological instructor of Lutheran students at that time.

In this pamphlet which was sent to all the members of the General Synod for their approval and adoption at the next convention, Dr. Schmucker attempted a revision of the Augsburg Confession, omitting the seven articles on abuses and altering the twenty-three doctrinal articles more or less. His charges of errors in the Augsburg Confession were the result of his training. He had studied theology at the Presbyterian institution at Princeton, N. J. He was, therefore, entirely out of touch with the true historical meaning of the terms employed in the Augustana and had only a vague conception of Lutheranism. If anything, Dr. Schmucker was an example of misguided Lutheranism, a proof of the importance of genuinely Lutheran institutions where Lutheranism might have been presented to him in his youth in its true historical setting and meaning. After Dr. Schmucker's fiasco the Pennsylvania Ministerium realized plainly and immediately this need of a thoroughly Lutheran training for the ministry by establishing a Lutheran seminary of its own at Philadelphia to counteract the results of the instruction at Gettysburg. The Lutheran Church of that period is totally to blame for this exhibition of ignorance on the part of Dr. Schmucker.

Dr. Schmucker thoroughly believed that the large majority of the General Synod was in accord with his views as expressed in the above-named pamphlet. Contrary to his anticipations, however, his "Definite Platform" solicited a storm of protest on all sides. It was repudiated most emphatically and vehemently as an unwarranted attack on the venerable Augustana, and the sudden awakening of loyalty to the Lutheran standards overwhelmed him utterly. His consternation is imaginable, and with what a rude shock Luther-

anism awoke to the full realization of the real state of affairs can well be understood. Dr. Walther was already at this time standing out as a prominent figure on the western horizon of Lutheranism in this country. The leader of the Missouri Synod had firmly established himself as an emphatic champion of genuine Lutheranism. His persistent appeals to Luther and the confessions played a large part in this turmoil. In fact, in all corners of the Lutheran Church arose ardent advocates of the confessions, although not all with equal soundness.

The "Definite Platform", no doubt, would never have attracted such wide attention had it not been for the important position of its author as the leading oracle of the General Synod. Criticisms of the Augsburg Confession were nothing new at that time and continued long after Dr. Schmucker, but they created hardly any stir in comparison with that of the year 1855. It played an important role also in the later developments of the General Synod with reference to the Pennsylvania Ministerium, bringing matters to a crisis and an open rupture, when in protest against the admission of the Franckean Synod (N. Y.) to the General Synod, despite its professedly un-Lutheran stand, the Pennsylvania Ministerium once more severed its connection with the General Synod. This time the Pennsylvanians together with a number of other synods formed the "General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America" in the year 1866. The circumstances of this violent rupture in the General Synod will be treated in connection with the origin of the General Council.

In confession as well as in practice the General Synod always was and still is the most liberal body in the Lutheran Church of America. Confessionally lax in the beginning, due to the tendency of the period in which it was organized, it since the affair of 1866 has shown a tendency to improve in this respect. Before that time, since the years 1825 and 1829, its candidates for ordination were required to accept "the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice", likewise "that the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession". Its professors at Gettysburg were required to affirm: "I believe that the Augsburg Confession and the Catechisms of Luther are a summary and correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of God's Word". Dr. Schmucker has shown what this obligation amounted to. "A closer examination of these confessional obligations", says Dr. Neve, "particularly that contained in the formula of ordination, reveals a lack of the necessary clearness and definiteness. The expression 'substantially correct' was interpreted by the representatives of the so-called 'American Lutheranism' to mean that the Augustana was not throughout in accordance with the Scriptures, and that they had the right, therefore, to reject such articles as they chose". ¹⁾

¹⁾ Neve, Brief History of the Lutheran Church, p. 178.

In the year 1864 when the dispute over the Franckean Synod arose an attempt was made at definiteness in a resolution then offered (formally adopted in the year 1869), accepting the Augsburg Confession "as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word". In another resolution of the year 1864 bearing on this subject the General Synod declared among other things that it "rejects the Romish doctrines of the real presence of transubstantiation, and with it the doctrine of consubstantiation, denies any power in the Sacrament as an *opus operatum*, or that the blessings of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper can be received without faith; . . . maintains the sacred obligation of the Lord's Day; we declare that, in our judgment, the Augsburg Confession, properly interpreted, is in perfect consistence with this our testimony and with Holy Scripture as regards the errors specified".¹⁾

During the succeeding years the General Synod repeatedly had to reaffirm its confessional standpoint. But there really was no agreement on the subject within the body. There always were such as nevertheless "declared that the General Synod had purposely demanded nothing but fidelity to the fundamentals of the Augustana".²⁾ The distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines was always insisted upon and it has apparently persisted to this day. The General Synod, it is true, has more clearly defined its confessional stand, but a wide latitude has always been permitted.

The doctrinal basis of today was formulated in the year 1813. "Taking a firm stand upon the Scriptures as the Word of God and the only infallible rule of faith and practice, the General Synod receives and holds the Unaltered Augustana as correctly setting forth the inner faith and the objective doctrine of our Church, which is founded upon the Word". The General Synod regards the "Secondary Symbols", i. e., the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalkald Articles, the Small and Large Catechism of Luther, and the Formula of Concord, as "of great historical and interpretative value", but "does not require subscription to the Secondary Symbols as a condition of membership in that body. Their formal acceptance is a matter of liberty with the individual Synod The Unaltered Augsburg Confession, however, is considered an ample basis for the co-operation of Synods".³⁾ The Formula of Concord is "too extensive a statement to be accepted as a creed".

With respect to the several controversies that have engaged the Lutheran Church at various times "the General Synod has wisely refrained from making minute theological distinctions, and has thus obviated much useless discussion".⁴⁾ "For, as far as we are able to see, there is an essential agreement among all Lutheran bodies on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as

¹⁾ Neve, *Brief History of the Lutheran Church*, p. 179.

²⁾ Neve, *ibidem*, p. 182.

³⁾ Singmaster, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 59.

⁴⁾ Singmaster, *ibidem*, p. 60.

taught in the Bible and set forth in the Lutheran Confessions. While there are individuals in all the different Synods who are erratic in their beliefs and practices, a body is not to be judged by the opinion or the actions of one individual or of small groups, but by its own authoritative deliverances".¹⁾

Its attitude to secret societies or lodges is non-committal. "It has never legislated upon the subject, preferring to leave the matter to the conscience of the individual and to the jurisdiction of the district Synods". "The question of pulpit and altar fellowship are also left to the decision of the individual pastor and congregation, or to the determination of the district Synods. As a fact, such fellowship is generally recognized as a right in principle, while in practice it is by no means common. The exchange of pulpits and the invitation of non-Lutherans to the Lord's Table" the General Synod upholds and maintains because their abandonment "would be regarded as an evidence of exclusiveness, and would be interpreted as a breach of fellowship with the Church universal".²⁾ Consequently also, "acting on the principle of evangelical comity the General Synod has always maintained friendly relations with other religious bodies", exchanging delegates with the Reformed and Presbyterian bodies. "These practices are not to be construed as 'unionistic' in the offensive sense of the term, but as an acknowledgment that the Good Shepherd has other sheep which are not of our fold". It also participates "in movements whose object is the world-wide spread of the gospel, the better observance of the Lord's Day, the suppression of intemperance and other vices, and the general improvement of public morals".³⁾ "In all these forms of Christian effort and activity the General Synod sees the possibility of a larger work than it alone can do. In every case there is the understanding that the General Synod does not yield its conception of truth".⁴⁾ The General Synod is a member of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. It is the only Lutheran body which is found in that company.

The following bodies formed the General Synod: Maryland (1820), West Pennsylvania (1825), East Ohio (1836), Alleghany (1842), East Pennsylvania (1842), Miami, Ohio (1844), Pittsburg (1845), Wittenberg, Ohio (1847), Olive Branch: Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee (1848), Northern Illinois (1855), Central Pennsylvania (1867), Iowa (1855), Northern Indiana (1855), Central Illinois (1867), Susquehanna (1867), Kansas (1868), Nebraska (1873), Wartburg (1876), California (1891), German Nebraska (1891), Rocky Mountain (1891), Southern Illinois (1901), New York (1908), West Virginia (1912). Its statistics show (1918): 1,514 pastors, 1,845 congregations, and 370,616 communicants. Its main theological seminary is located at Gettysburg, Pa., and besides that it maintains several other seminaries in different parts of the

¹⁾ Singmaster, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 61.

²⁾ Singmaster, *ibidem*, p. 64 seq.

³⁾ *l. c.*, p. 66 seq.

⁴⁾ *l. c.*, p. 67.

country, as well as six colleges. Like the other synods it has many charitable institutions. "Lutheran Church Work and Observer" is its official organ. Prof. J. A. Singmaster is the editor of the "Lutheran Quarterly". The "Lutherische Zionsbote" is published in the interests of the German element in the General Synod.

WESTERN LUTHERANISM.

Buffalo Synod.

The close of the first half of the nineteenth century marks the opening of another era in the American Lutheran Church, which one might call the Renaissance of confessional consciousness or the reaction of confessionalism. New elements entered into the field of American Lutheranism with the influx of immigration. These immigrants came to America as Lutherans, leaving their homeland from religious motives. They formed two groups: the one left Germany (Prussia) in protest against the Prussian Union, the other (Saxony) to escape the tyranny of rationalism which would not permit them to confess the true doctrine. Many of these Lutherans gave up lucrative positions, lost their homes and much of their possessions and suffered severe privations in the first years of their settlement in this country. Their Lutheran faith was more precious to them than this world's goods. They came to this country imbued with a most determined loyalty to the Lutheran standards, entering the ranks of American Lutheranism when confessionalism was at a low ebb. The older synods looked upon them with wonder, with resentment, and again with a considerable amount of admiration as these "foreigners" carried their principles into practice with utmost skill and consistency. Those that came from Prussia settled in and about Buffalo, N. Y., and Wisconsin. The band that emigrated from Saxony came to St. Louis and also formed a colony near Wittenberg of today in Perry County, Mo. And almost immediately after their settlement their leaders clashed in their views on the Church and the Ministry.

In Prussia King Frederick William III. undertook to unite the Lutheran and the Reformed into one church body as a state church. "The Reformed were thought to have universally abandoned the doctrine of absolute predestination, and the Lutherans that of the real presence".¹⁾ The king had a uniform liturgy prepared for all churches in his realm and demanded that all pastors alike use it in their churches. But "it proved to be too positive for the adherents of the theology of Illuminism, too Lutheran for the Reformed, too Reformed for the Lutherans".²⁾ This served to arouse confessional consciousness on all sides and the king had great difficulty in enforcing his decree. The

¹⁾ Jacobs, History, p. 394.

²⁾ I. c., p. 395.

Union became the storm center of Prussia, especially when the Prussian ruler resorted to military force, fines, and imprisonment to achieve his end. Among those who suffered imprisonment for fidelity to the Lutheran confessions was Johann A. A. Grabau, pastor of St. Andrew's Church at Erfurt (born 1804, died 1879). Seeing the futility of protesting further against the Union State Church invented by the royal house he with about one thousand adherents emigrated to America in July, 1839. Most of the expedition settled at Buffalo, N. Y., a part also went to Wisconsin. Grabau was their acknowledged leader and under his care soon four congregations were founded in and around Buffalo. In the year 1840 Grabau took it upon himself to send a Pastoral Letter to some congregations which were without a pastor, warning them against itinerant preachers of which there were many at that time. In this Letter he also stated the reasons why they must avoid them. A copy of this "Hirten-brief" (written, not printed) he sent to the Saxons on the Mississippi with a request for their opinion. The Saxons dissented from the views expressed in this message, which started a controversy several years before these two bands of immigrants had organized and continued long after the Buffalo and the Missouri Synods had come into being. The points involved the doctrines of the Church and the Ministry, touching particularly upon the exercise of the Office of the Keys.

Grabau maintained that ordination is of divine institution and that it is essential to the validity of the office of the ministry; that the efficacy of the sacraments depends not only on the Word of God, but also on a valid ministry; that the right to exercise the Office of the Keys is vested in the ministry solely, demanding not only obedience to the ministerial office when the Word of God is applied, but in all things not contrary to God's Word; that a combination of congregations, a synod, not an individual congregation, is the supreme tribunal to decide what is in accordance or at variance with the Word of God in faith and practice.¹⁾ In all these points the Saxons differed from Grabau and a bitter controversy ensued. Walther maintained that ordination is not of divine institution, but is merely an apostolic-ecclesiastical institution, a public confirmation of the call extended by the congregation; that the administration of the sacraments depends not on a valid ministry; that obedience is due the ministerial office only in so far as it sets forth the Word of God; that all the rights and powers of the Church are vested originally and immediately in the congregation and the duty to judge in matters pertaining to faith and practice rests with all Christians, and to enable a congregation to carry out these rights and duties it is not necessary to be a member of some synod or general body.²⁾

In the year 1845 Grabau with several other pastors founded the "Synod of Lutherans Immigrated from Prussia", later, since the year 1886, with

¹⁾ Kraushaar, Verfassungsformen, p. 312.

²⁾ Kraushaar, Verfassungsformen, p. 327.

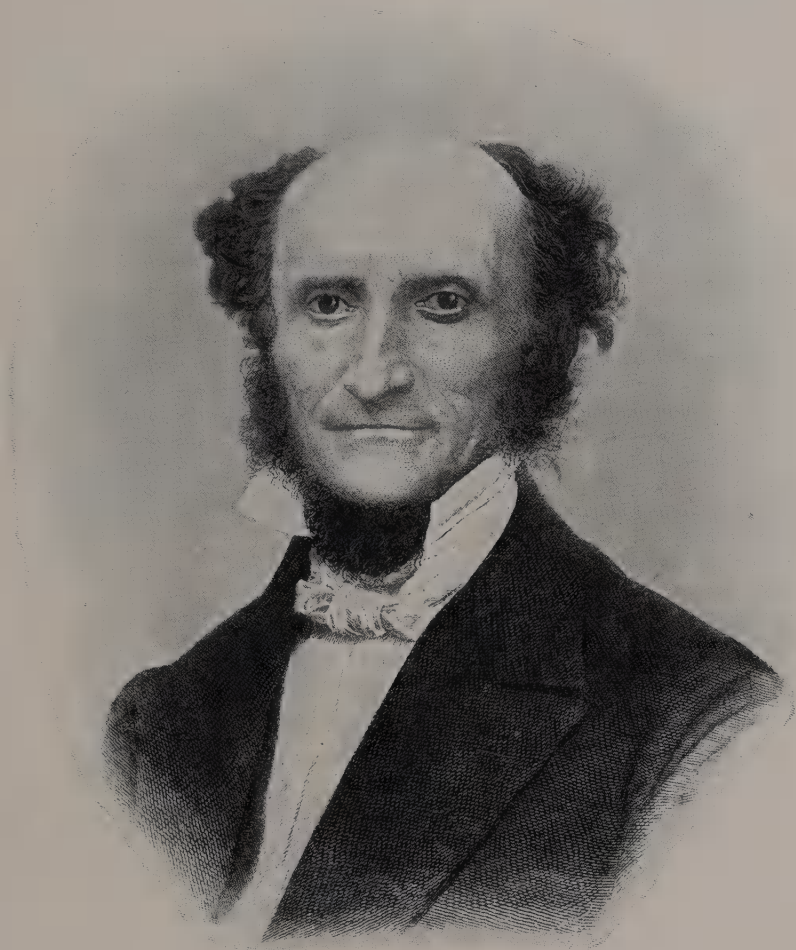
the adoption of a new constitution, known as "The Lutheran Synod of Buffalo" or briefly Buffalo Synod. Immediately after its organization at Milwaukee, Wis., it established a training school for pastors and teachers at Buffalo, known as Wartburg Seminary. In the year 1866 a very serious rupture occurred in the synod. Despite the objections of Grabau a conference or colloquium was held between representatives of the Buffalo and the Missouri Synods, in consequence of which eleven pastors of the Buffalo Synod joined the Missouri Synod. The small remnant which remained again broke into two factions of which one ceased to exist after the year 1877. The Buffalo Synod has always been a very small body and only came into prominence through the controversy with the Missouri Synod. Its statistics show 48 pastors, 6,640 congregations, 9,025 communicants. Its official organ is "Die Wachende Kirche" which was established in the year 1866. Of recent years conferences have been held with the New York Ministerium which culminated in mutual recognition with an exchange of pulpits and fellowship at the altar. It can hardly be claimed that the present Buffalo Synod still maintains the original position on the above-mentioned controverted points. A moderation of its attitude has occurred during the years that the controversy has rested.

Walther and the Missouri Synod.

WE now turn to the Saxon immigrants. They entered this country eight months before the Prussian Lutherans by way of the Gulf of Mexico, traveling up the Mississippi to St. Louis, where a part stayed, another section going to Perry County, Mo. They had left their homeland because of the "deplorably desolate state into which round about Luther's tomb the church of the Reformation had sunk in those days of rankest rationalism".¹⁾ The leader of this expedition of some eight hundred persons from all walks of life was one Martin Stephan, pastor at Dresden, a powerful preacher who had attracted large numbers of people from all parts of Germany by his zealous adherence to the Lutheran confessions and by his intense piety. His sermons were widely read by all classes of Germany. Under his leadership these Saxons left their homes and all, embarking in five vessels for America, one of which, the *Amalia*, was lost at sea and never heard of again. They reached New Orleans after a stormy voyage in December, 1838, and January, 1839. Soon after their arrival at their destination in Perry County, where 4,440 acres of land were purchased for the colony near Wittenberg, Martin Stephan, "who had awakened so many to a sense of sin, was found to have become, in his old age, a deceiver".²⁾ He was found guilty of defalcation

¹⁾ Graebner, *Half a Century of Sound Lutheranism in America*, p. 4.

²⁾ Jacobs, *History*, p. 397.



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(Dr. Walther's Signature.)

and gross immorality and was formally deposed, excommunicated, and cast out from among his people to pass the rest of his life in obscurity. He died in the year 1846 in a log cabin a few miles from Red Bud, Illinois. Notice of Stephan's deposition and downfall was inserted in the St. Louis German paper "Anzeiger des Westens" on June 1, 1839.¹⁾

Among the four pastors (three of them closely related, viz., the brothers O. Herman and C. F. W. Walther, and their brother-in-law, E. G. W. Keyl) who remained, the younger Walther soon became the leader. The fourth pastor was G. H. Loeber, a descendant of the eminent German theologian Christian Loeber.²⁾ Besides these pastors there were three candidates for the ministry, viz., Ottomar Fuerbringer, Th. Jul. Brohm, John Fr. Buenger. When the calamity of Stephan's exposure overtook the Saxons they were at first perplexed and bewildered. They were tossed about with doubts whether they still constituted a part of the Christian Church and whether the ministry among them was valid. It was the younger Walther who then brought light and encouragement to the downcast band, assuring them on these points. Encouraged thus by their pastors they set about in the midst of hardships and privations which the mismanagement of Stephan had brought upon them, to prepare for the future spiritual welfare of themselves and posterity. In the summer of the year 1839 an advertisement appeared in the St. Louis paper "Anzeiger des Westens", announcing the opening of a gymnasium (college) on October first at Altenburg, Perry County, Mo.³⁾ The prime movers in this venture were the three candidates mentioned above. A log cabin was built and when the school opened these three young men together with the younger Walther as president formed the first faculty. The first students were Herman Buenger, Theod. Schubart, Fr. J. Biltz, J. A. F. W. Mueller, Ch. H. Loeber. This log cabin which has been preserved as a memento of those days was the beginning of the many great institutions of the Missouri Synod, fourteen in number (one of these is in Porto Alegre, Brazil, which recently sent out its first native graduates into the mission field of South America). Thousands of pastors and teachers have gone forth from these institutions to nearly every state in the Union and to Canada, in fact, to almost every part of the world. "Can any one doubt what would have been the fate of these immigrants if they had been content to rely upon Germany to supply the constantly expanding necessities of their work? We need only contrast the history of their development with that of the Dutch and the Swedish churches of our first period, and even with that of the other German churches up to a comparatively recent time, to learn the lesson that church progress in America is largely conditioned on the supply of the pastorate of our churches by young men selected from our own congregations, and

¹⁾ Hochstetter, Geschichte der Missouri-Synode, p. 25 seq.

²⁾ Walther published a new edition of his work on Dogmatics, 1872.

³⁾ Krauss, Lebensbilder, p. 716.

trained for this work in our own institutions, however humble and primitive those institutions may be".¹⁾

The colony in Perry County was divided into several parishes (Altenburg, Frohna, Wittenberg) which were served by the pastors Keyl, Loeber, and the younger Walther. Those in St. Louis were ministered to by the older Walther. For three years the St. Louis congregation worshiped in the basement of Christ Church (Protestant Episcopal). In January, 1841, their pastor died and C. F. W. Walther became his successor. In the following year Trinity Church was built, the mother church of the Missouri Synod. It is from this point onward that Walther rises into prominence and becomes inseparably connected with the further history of the Missouri Synod. What Muhlenberg was in the eighteenth century Walther was in the nineteenth. These two men are the most prominent figures in the history of American Lutheranism. "More than most other men in the history of the Church, Walther knew how to impress his mind upon his followers. The imposing unity of the Missouri Synod, together with its size, exerted a mighty influence everywhere, and especially in the Eastern synods strengthened the confessional consciousness which had already awakened from its slumber".²⁾

Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther was born at Langenchursdorf, Saxony, on October 25, 1811. His father was a Lutheran pastor inclined to rationalism. "In the history of his spiritual life Walther resembles very much his great teacher, Luther. At school and at the university his soul was encompassed by the darkness of rationalism, as Luther's had been by the night of Popery, and when he entered the university (Leipzig) he had not heard a word of gospel truth uttered by a believing teacher. In the university he found his Staupitz in a candidate of theology of riper years, who gathered about him a number of younger students for spiritual exercises of a rather pietistical type, and young Walther finally found himself at the verge of spiritual despair in hopeless spiritual agonies. Then it was that he also found a spiritual Frau Cotta, the wife of a revenue officer at Leipzig, at whose house he was a frequent guest, and the comforting words of this matron first led him to find peace and comfort in the grace of God and Christ the Redeemer. During a severe illness, which compelled him to interrupt his studies, Walther laid the foundation of a thorough familiarity with the writings of Luther, which he found in his father's library. Having completed his studies at Leipzig under teachers who were most of them also confirmed rationalists, and after several years, which, as was common among young theologians, he spent as a private tutor, Walther was, in 1837, ordained to the ministry at Braeunsdorf, in Saxony, a village whose entire population was steeped in rationalism. Amid the severe conflicts which his Lutheran preaching and practice brought upon him, he

¹⁾ Jacobs, History, p. 401.

²⁾ Neve, Brief History, p. 273.

was induced to attach himself to the movement which, under the leadership of Martin Stephan, resulted in the emigration" above described.¹⁾

The succeeding events in the life of Walther we have seen in the foregoing paragraphs. When Stephan was exposed he fought down the doctrinal errors of Stephan, viz., that the Lutheran Church was The Church outside of which there is no salvation, and several other Romanizing tenets. With convincing clearness he set forth the truth and gained the confidence of all the immigrants. In the year 1840 he entered the controversy with Grabau, which also prompted him to compile his work "Kirche und Amt".

Walther labored faithfully and untiringly for the upbuilding of Zion. In the year 1844 his congregations at St. Louis, which had increased rapidly during his pastorate, aided him in carrying out his plan of the publication of a German church paper. "September 1, 1844, deserves to be recorded as one of the great days in the history of the American Lutheran Church. On that day Walther began the publication of 'Der Lutheraner'. The very name chosen for this famous periodical, with the time-honored motto underneath, 'God's Word and Luther's pure shall now and evermore endure', was significant. It came as a challenge. It fairly compelled notice. Here was a writer who had the courage of his convictions and proposed to speak them".²⁾ And "since, let us say, 1844, the year when 'Der Lutheraner' began to be published, it is simply impossible to write a true history of Lutheranism without taking into account the mighty influence that emanated from Walther".³⁾ Walther by this periodical attracted a number of pastors who, either in isolation or in synodical organizations with which they were not in sympathy, had been laboring on the same principles that Walther proposed to advocate. Dr. Sihler, then a pastor of a congregation of the Ohio Synod, was one. Another was "Father" F. C. D. Wyneken, a "pioneer of Western Lutheranism, a man whose name will be pronounced with reverence as long as a Lutheran Church remains in America" He had been wandering around in the wilderness of "Americanism" in the Lutheran Church of the East, disturbed and disconsolate over the sad lack of genuine Lutheranism, when by chance he came upon the first number of "Der Lutheraner". Glancing over its pages hurriedly, he exclaimed with joy: "Thank God! There are still more Lutherans in America!" He was then pastor of a small congregation at Fort Wayne, Ind., belonging to the General Synod with which he was totally out of sympathy by that time. It is to be regretted that more space can not be devoted to Wyneken, the pioneer missionary of the Missouri Synod. These two men, Sihler and Wyneken, stood in intimate relation to Walther and the history of the Missouri Synod.

Walther did not tarry long in organizing the Saxon immigrants into a synod.

¹⁾ Graebner, *Lutheran Cyclopedia*, p. 535.

²⁾ Dau, *Theological Quarterly*, XV, p. 129.

³⁾ *l. c.*, p. 67.

In this respect Walther was the organizing genius in the West as Muhlenberg had been in the East. The "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States" was organized on April 26, 1847 at Chicago, twelve congregations, twenty-two pastors, and two candidates of theology taking part. Walther drew up the constitution in harmony with the principles he had espoused and advocated. He was chosen president and "Der Lutheraner" was made the official organ of the synod with Walther as editor. In the same year the institution which had been founded in the log cabin was moved to St. Louis and became the theological center of the synod. The new seminary building erected in 1850 was dedicated by Walther and from that year date his labors as professor of theology at the seminary.

"From the beginning the Synod of Missouri placed itself on the foundation of the Lutheran confessions as contained in the Book of Concord of 1580, rejecting all kinds of unionism and syncretism with those of another faith. Continued doctrinal discussions at synods, conferences, and congregational meetings, regular visitations of the churches, and the faithful training of the children in their parochial schools were the means of not only holding the synod itself firmly together in one spirit, but also of enlarging it rapidly in every direction. Special emphasis was laid on the rights of the congregations, and all 'High-Church' ideas concerning the ministry were repudiated. The authority of the synod in its relation to the congregations is advisory in character. The right to vote at synodical meetings is confined to the delegates of congregations and to those pastors who actually serve congregations in full connection with the synod. All other pastors, teachers, and professors are only advisory members. The wisdom and consistency of Walther's arrangement proved a powerful attraction, which succeeded in overcoming and assimilating even antagonistic elements".¹⁾ By the year 1866 when the rupture occurred in the Buffalo Synod and in the General Synod, the Missouri Synod numbered about 300 pastors and was larger than any other synod in America at that time. When it celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding in the year 1872 it numbered 428 pastors and 251 school teachers. At Walther's death, May 7, 1887, the synod had increased to 1,200 congregations and preaching stations or missions, nearly 1,000 pastors, and more than 1,000 parochial schools with about 70,000 children in attendance six days of the week.

It has had a most phenomenal growth, so that today it is the largest single body of Lutherans in America. By the year 1909 it extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to the Gulf and Brazil. It is divided into twenty-seven districts, conforming in general to the States of the Union, among which also are counted the districts of Canada and Brazil. Its last statistics show 2,596 pastors, 3,447 congregations, 638,532 communicants.

As to the influence which Walther exerted upon Lutheranism in this

¹⁾ Spaeth, Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, VII, p. 89 sq.

country, it has never been fully appreciated by the large English speaking section of the Church, because all his utterances were made in the German language. His life was full of activity, and how the man ever mastered all the work is not quite comprehensible, humanly speaking. It is impossible to go into all the many activities or to outline all the events and issues in which Walther had a part. To even attempt to delineate all the issues in the controversies alone would require a separate volume to do justice to the magnitude of the upheaval which his determined stand for the confessions created in the Church. Walther was a most energetic worker, gifted in a very remarkable manner, not only as a theologian. If one takes into consideration all the articles which he wrote in the first forty-three volumes of "*Der Lutheraner*", in thirty-three volumes of the theological monthly "*Lehre und Wehre*" (established in 1855), all his contributions in eleven volumes of the "*Magazin fuer ev.-luth. Homiletik und Pastoraltheologie*," all the papers prepared and read by him before synodical conventions, his collections of sermons, prayers, addresses, and other books and tracts published by him, one is inclined to doubt his eyes. As a prolific writer Walther is second only to Luther and perhaps if all his works were edited and published, they would be equally as voluminous as Luther's. If one adds to all this the many other duties which he fulfilled most conscientiously it displays a truly remarkable energy and zeal.¹⁾

Beginning with the dispute with the Buffalo Synod over the doctrines of the Church and the Ministry the Missouri Synod became the storm center of many doctrinal controversies in all of which Walther took a leading part. There followed the controversy with Loehe and the Iowa Synod on the above doctrines as well as the confessions themselves (what is and what is not binding in the confessions), open questions, universal justification, and conversion and election. In the last named the Ohio Synod and the Norwegians are also involved. There are several other points, but those given are the main issues. Walther also took part in efforts to bring about a union of the various Lutheran bodies. In the Foreword of the second volume of "*Lehre und Wehre*" he proposed the plan of holding free conferences for the discussion of doctrinal differences. This proposal was made at the time when the charges of errors in the Augsburg Confession made by Dr. Schmucker stirred the Lutheran Church in all its sections. Four such free conferences were held in the years 1856 to 1859 in which members of the synods of Missouri, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York took part. Walther was the chief speaker at three of these meetings, the fourth one he could not attend on account of illness. In the year 1866 Walther was one of the representatives of his synod at the colloquy with members of the Buffalo Synod, the result of which we have already noted. In the following year he took part in the colloquy with

¹⁾ Krauss, *Lebensbilder*, p. 726.

representatives of the Iowa Synod, leading to no agreement. In the year 1868 he with others was in conference with members of the Ohio Synod with satisfactory results.

SYNODICAL CONFERENCE.

Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan Synods.

Before treating of the organization of the Synodical Conference it is necessary briefly to touch upon some synods which joined the Missouri Synod in forming this general body. These synods are located chiefly in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and the Dakotas. Large numbers of German immigrants had been attracted to this section of the country and many of them were Lutherans. Some Lutherans of Grabau's expedition settled in Wisconsin around Milwaukee. This opened a promising mission field and several American synods as well as Mission Societies of Germany turned their attention to it. The man to organize Wisconsin Lutherans was Pastor J. Muehlhaeuser. Before he came here he was connected with the New York Ministerium. The New Yorkers had appealed to several Mission Societies of Germany to supply them with pastors and in response the Langenberger Verein had sent Muehlhaeuser who arrived in New York about the year 1838. There being no immediate opening for him in the city the Mission Committee of the Ministerium sent him to Rochester, N. Y., to take charge of a congregation recently organized. In May, 1848, he resigned the pastorate and took a position with the American Tract Society and went to Wisconsin to minister to the Lutherans there. In Milwaukee he founded a congregation. Here he met two others of the German Mission Society and with these and a few others organized the Wisconsin Synod in the year 1850. This was the mustard seed from which the present synod of this name grew. "The first synodical constitution, modeled by President Muehlhaeuser after that of the New York Ministerium, characterized its confessional position merely as being Evangelical Lutheran. But as early as 1863 we notice a more explicit doctrinal statement: 'This body acknowledges the entire canonical writings of the Old and New Testaments as the sole standard of faith, and also the Symbolical Books as the proper interpretation of the Word of God'. Congregations desirous of uniting with this synodical alliance must accept 'the pure confessions of the Ev. Luth. Church as the rule and standard of faith and life'. From a 'mild and conciliatory' attitude the Lutheranism of this synod has developed into one of uncompromising fidelity to the Lutheran confessions".¹⁾ Most of the men who became members of this synod were university graduates. Perhaps the most distinguished among them was the late Dr. A. Hoenecke who came to the synod in the year 1863 and shortly after became the head

¹⁾ Engel, Neve's Brief History, p. 321.

of the synod's seminary at Watertown (founded 1863). With his entrance into the ranks of the synod "a decided change toward conservative Lutheranism was felt throughout the synod".¹⁾

For a time the Wisconsin Synod was supplied by Germany with pastors. But many of the Mission Societies in Germany were connected with the Prussian Union (the cause of Grabau's expedition) and when the synod protested against its unionism, its relations with the societies of Germany ceased. However, not feeling that it was quite strong enough to stand alone it sought the friendship of other American synods. For twenty years it received support from the Pennsylvania Ministerium, but when the General Council came into existence this relationship ceased. In the year 1866 it entered into negotiations with the Iowa Synod through conferences. "But their doctrinal differences were so marked that harmony seemed to be out of the question". When the General Council was organized the Wisconsin Synod took an active part. But when it could obtain no satisfactory declaration on the Four Points it withdrew. It came to an understanding with the Missouri Synod in the year 1868 and also with the Minnesota Synod in the following year. It took a prominent part in the great controversy on predestination.

Its periodicals are "Gemeindeblatt", "Theologische Quartalschrift", and "Northwestern Lutheran". Its statistics show 566 pastors, 625 congregations, 139,605 communicants.

For lack of funds and men the Wisconsin Synod in the first years of its existence was not in a position to extend its work beyond the boundaries of the state whose name it bears. Eastern Lutherans had their attention called to the great missionary field of Minnesota and Dr. W. A. Passavant, then of the General Synod, was sent there to gauge its possibilities. At his suggestion the noted missionary C. F. Heyer was sent into the field. He gathered in the Lutherans, founded congregations, and organized the Minnesota Synod in the year 1860 which doctrinally assumed the character of the General Synod. "At first the synod adhered to the doctrinal laxity of the General Synod, to which it belonged until 1866. By a formal recognition of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, it claimed the name of the great Reformer, while in reality it tolerated the widest possible inconsistency between theory and practice. However, when President J. H. Sieker was admitted to the synod, the doctrinal standard was greatly improved. Discussions with Missouri and a closer relationship with Wisconsin helped to clear the atmosphere".²⁾ (Johann Heinrich Sieker came from the Wisconsin Synod and in the year 1876 became the pastor of old St. Matthew's Church, New York City.) The Minnesota Synod also took part in the organization of the General Council. "But it soon learned, to its disappointment, that the General Council did not occupy a flawless doctrinal position. This became apparent, when President Sieker,

¹⁾ I. c., p. 323.

²⁾ Engel, Neve's Brief History, p. 334.

upon the request of his synod, addressed some questions to the Council which forced the latter to give an explicit account of the Pittsburg declaration (1869—1870). In the name of the Minnesota Synod Sieker requested, in view of disagreements within the Council concerning the Four Points, an explanation of the final decision accepted at Pittsburg". The reply being unsatisfactory, the synod severed its connection with the General Council in the year 1871.¹⁾

Still another synod in this part of the country is the Michigan Synod which was organized by Friedrich Schmid who had been sent into this state by the Basel Mission in the year 1833. It was first known as the Mission Synod, the original intention being to preach the Gospel to the Indians. Loehe became interested in the Indian mission and opened negotiations with Schmid, promising to send men if the synod was obligated to the confessions. To satisfy Loehe the confessions were formally recognized, but that was all. "While the Michigan Synod recognized the Lutheran Symbols, it permitted common services for Lutheran and Reformed congregations, and did not object to the communion formula of the Prussian Union".²⁾ Loehe had sent some men, but when the real attitude of the Michigan Synod became apparent the emissaries of Loehe quit the synod in protest. They were W. Hattstaedt, A. Craemer, Fr. Lochner, and J. Trautmann.³⁾ This weakened the synod to such an extent that it disbanded. The withdrawal of the protest party occurred in the year 1846.

But in the year 1860 Schmid again organized a Michigan Synod. This time it was pledged in earnest to the Lutheran confessions. This second body has remained to the present day. In the year 1867 it became a member of the General Council and remained a member for twenty years. This relationship ceased in the dispute over the Four Points. After experiencing several difficulties in its midst it reached its present position.

These three synods together with several others are a part of the Synodical Conference. In the year 1892 the Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan Synods formed a general body called the Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and Other States, to which the Nebraska District Synod was admitted in the year 1905. But each of these synods maintained separate relations with the Synodical Conference.

The organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America at Milwaukee, Wis., in the year 1872 was the result of several colloquies which, at the suggestion of Walther, had been held between the Missouri Synod and the Wisconsin, Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, and Norwegian

¹⁾ Engel, Neve's Brief History, p. 334 sq. The questions asked by the synod are given in Nicum, Geschichte des New-YorkMinisteriums, p. 280.

²⁾ Engel, l. c., p. 338.

³⁾ Hochstetter, Geschichte der Missouri-Synode p. 138.

Synods at different times. Representatives of all of the mentioned synods took part in the organization and Walther was chosen the first president. The basis of this general body takes the same uncompromising stand as that of the Missouri Synod. Synods are admitted to membership in this body on the recommendation of all synods concerned, and they may not enter into fellowship with any other body without the consent of all the synods connected with the Synodical Conference. It is merely an advisory body, having no church powers and representing no concentration of church effort.¹⁾ The only practical work which this general body so far has undertaken as a unit is mission work among the colored people of the South, maintaining a seminary for the training of colored missionaries at Greensboro, N. C., and publishing the "Lutheran Pioneer" and the "Missionstaube" in the interest of this work.

The synods which formed the Synodical Conference worked in harmony for a number of years until the great predestinarian controversy broke out. In this conflict the Ohio Synod withdrew in the year 1881 and the Norwegian Synod three years later. In consequence of the Ohio Synod's withdrawal a few pastors and congregations separated from it, organized the Concordia Synod, maintaining relations with the Synodical Conference until the year 1886, when it amalgamated with the Missouri Synod. The Illinois Synod had become a part of the Illinois District of the Missouri Synod six years previously. The Michigan Synod was connected with the Synodical Conference from the year 1892 to 1896. When this connection was terminated it split, one part staying with the Synodical Conference under the old name, the other part with the same name continuing independently until the year 1909, when the two parts were again united. In the year 1890 the English Missouri Synod was admitted to membership, becoming the English District of the Missouri Synod in the year 1911. The District Synod of Nebraska became a member in the year 1905 and in the following year the Slovak Synod (in Pennsylvania) joined. Thus at present six synods belong to the Synodical Conference, numbering 2,918 pastors, 3,617 congregations, and 777,438 communicants.²⁾

We offer here a brief abstract of Dr. Pieper's statement of the doctrinal position of the Synodical Conference.³⁾

THE CHURCH: The Church, in the proper sense of the term, is the aggregate of all believers. All those, and only those, who believe in Christ are members of the Church. In short, faith in Christ is the all-deciding factor in regard to church-membership. The wicked and the hypocrites, although they have external membership with the Church, form no part of it. — — — Again, the Word of God and the Sacraments, the means of grace, are necessarily connected with the Church and consequently are also the true marks

¹⁾ Kraushaar, Verfassungsformen, IV of Constitution.

²⁾ According to latest Government Census, 1918.

³⁾ Distinctive Doctrines and Usages, pp. 127—174.

of the same, but they are not the Church itself, nor are they part of it. For the Church is not a mere sum of ordinances, institutions, ceremonies, etc., but the great spiritual body of men believing in Christ. And bearing in mind that the Church is the aggregate or congregation of all believers, the only means employed in this Church to produce faith in Christ in the hearts of men are the preaching of the Word of God and the correct administration of the Sacraments. Neither can the Church be called visible on account of the visible and audible means of grace. The Church universal, the congregation of all true believers, is and always remains invisible, for God alone knows those who truly believe. And outside of this Church there is no salvation, since all true believers and only believers belong to it. And this Church universal, composed of all believers throughout the world, is thus not confined to particular orthodox churches or congregations, that is, to those particular Churches in which all the articles of the Christian faith are taught in their purity, but it is found throughout the world in those ecclesiastical communities also in which, besides errors, so much of the saving truth is taught that true faith in Christ may be produced.

The Scriptures, however, do not only speak of one universal Church, but frequently also of churches in particular localities. The former is the invisible Church outside of which there is no salvation, the latter the visible Churches. All such belong to the particular or visible Church or local congregation as unite in the profession of faith and do not contradict this profession by ungodly conduct. The particular Churches, properly speaking, consist of believers only, hypocrites being intermingled with the Church through external fellowship solely.

The relation between the universal Church and the particular Churches may be described thus: the aggregate of the particular Churches (with the addition of those single believers who are cut off from external church-fellowship) is the one universal Church, embracing all true believers in all parts of the world.

Again, the particular Churches are divided into two classes, determined by their relation to the Word of God. A Church which conforms to the command of Christ, that is, a Church in which the Gospel is preached in its purity and the Sacraments are administered according to Christ's institution, is rightly called an orthodox Church. On the other hand, a Church which does not conform to Christ's command, but allows false doctrine to be taught in its midst, is justly designated as heterodox. The orthodoxy of a Church, therefore, is determined by the doctrines actually taught and not by the "officially acknowledged confession" kept perhaps in the archives.

Sects exist not by God's good pleasure, but by His forbearance only, like other sins. Heterodox Churches are called sects inasmuch as they profess false doctrines contrary to the Scriptures and by their false teachings have caused divisions in the Church, constantly imperiling the faith and salvation

of the children of God. — — — Since no person is licensed to teach aught but the Word of God in the Church and since the Scriptures specifically warn against false doctrines and false teachers, Christians who are not yet connected with heterodox Churches should avoid them, should come out from among them. To unite with heterodox Churches must not be excused by pointing to the fact that many dear children of God are found among them. As it was not right for the Israelites to follow Absalom, even so it is not right for Christians to unite with those ecclesiastical communities that rebel against Christ by proclaiming false doctrines, although many Christians "in their simplicity" and by mistake have joined them.

THE MINISTERIAL OFFICE: The ministerial office is of divine institution. And since it is God who instituted this office, it is He who calls certain persons to this office. Through whom does God effect this call? Here there is disagreement between Iowa and Missouri. The latter declares: The right and power of electing and calling ministers of the divine Word is primarily and immediately granted to those to whom all spiritual power ("Church-power") originally and immediately belongs, namely, the congregation of believers. "For just as the believers are justified and become the children of God by faith, just so do they possess, by the same faith, all spiritual blessings and rights which Christ has purchased for His Church". "For it is the local congregation which our Lord Christ in Matt. 18, 17. 18 names as the congregation, or church, in which He has vested the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and, hence, all spiritual power" ¹⁾

It is therefore also within the province of the congregation of believers to transfer the exercise of this right to one or more persons. In short, the ministerial office is conferred by God upon certain persons through the divinely prescribed call of the congregation, the congregation being, by the gift of Christ, the original possessor of all Church-power, the ministers have their office from Christ, not immediately, however, but mediately, by the Church, in virtue of delegation through the call. The ministers are servants of Christ and the Church, performing the functions of the office in the place and name of the Church, and being accountable for the faithful discharge of their duties to both Christ and the congregation. Obedience is due the ministerial office whenever it sets forth the Word of God. Beyond these limits obedience must neither be demanded nor rendered. This applies also to synods, church councils, etc.

Is the universal Church or the local congregation entrusted with the power to call ministers? On this question there has also been disagreement. The Synodical Conference says: Christ clearly ascribes "the keys to the kingdom", and, consequently, the right to appoint ministers, to the local church. For it is the local church which Christ addresses in Matt. 18, 18.20.

¹⁾ Dr. Pieper, Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Mo. Synod, p. 20, 1897.

ORDINATION: It is the call of the congregation that constitutes ministers, and actually confers the ministerial office. Ordination is not a divine ordinance, but an apostolic-ecclesiastical institution. It does not confer the ministry, but is only a public testimony and confirmation of the call. Ordination, therefore, is not essential to the validity of the ministerial office.

ABSOLUTION: The Biblical doctrine held by the Lutheran Church has nothing in common with the blasphemous and ridiculous teachings of Romanism. According to Scripture absolution is not a power vested in the ministry or any certain order of persons, but a power granted to the whole Church, i e., to all believers. This is clearly seen by comparing John 20, 23, Matt. 16, 19 with Matt. 18, 18. In fact, all Christians when they console one another with the Gospel, actually absolve. A child pronouncing the words of the Gospel remits sin just as effectually as a bishop, minister, etc. The main reason why so many Christians take offence at the practice of absolution is to be found in their inadequate ideas as to what the Gospel of Christ properly is. To conceive the Gospel to be the declaration of certain conditions on which God would forgive sin, or merely as a plan to save sinners, Christ having caused in the heart of God a certain tendency to forgive sin, man completing the change in the heart of God by his being sorry for his sins, by his praying to God for forgiveness, by his earnest endeavors to lead a better life, etc., — is an altogether wrong conception of the work of Christ and the Gospel.

Christ has already perfectly and completely reconciled the whole world unto God, and the Gospel, being the message of what Christ has done for mankind, is "the Word of reconciliation", viz., the word stating that God is reconciled — — through Christ to the whole world and every individual sinner. Therefore, to preach the Gospel does not mean to lay before men a mere plan of salvation, or to declare the conditions of forgiveness, but preaching the Gospel is preaching pardon itself, salvation itself, "remission of sins" itself. So wherever the Gospel is proclaimed, there absolution is pronounced. It is from this conception of the Gospel that the Lutheran practice of absolution is to be judged and understood.

What part does faith play in absolution? Faith, indeed, is necessary on the part of man; not, however, to render God fully propitious, or in any way to merit forgiveness of sin, but to accept the forgiveness already earned by Christ and now offered in the Gospel.

But the objection is raised: The forgiveness of sin is the prerogative of God. This is true! Whoever is not absolved by God, remains under the burden of sin, although he be a thousand times absolved by men. But does God absolve immediately or mediately? According to Scripture God absolves through the Word of reconciliation. And this Word of reconciliation He has not kept for Himself, but committed to His Church on earth, as St. Paul definitely states in 2 Cor. 5, 19. Christ having committed to His Church the Gospel, thereby committed to her the right and enjoined upon her the

duty of forgiving sin. The agency, therefore, by which sin is forgiven Christ declared to be the congregation of believers. Matt. 8. And what is true of the preaching of the Gospel, is true also of the administration of the Sacraments. The person administering the Sacraments is, in fact, administering absolution.

Another objection: It is impossible to believe that God has given men the power of forgiving sin, unless He has given them the power of infallible judgment. — This objection rests on the false supposition that absolution is a decision rendered on the state of man's heart, while it is a declaration given on the state of God's heart, namely, that God is reconciled to every sinner through Christ. Absolution is founded on two facts, first, that God is perfectly reconciled through Christ to every sinner; secondly, that God has commanded this Gospel to be preached in the world, and especially to the penitent sinners who long for the consolation of the Gospel. Absolution demands faith on the part of man, yet it is not based upon faith, but pronounced for the purpose of being appropriated by faith.

CONVERSION: In conversion man is only the object to be converted. As man is dead in trespasses and sins, is an enemy of God, his coming to God or his conversion is solely the work of God who through the means of His Word produces a new spiritual life and creates a new willing heart. The Scriptures explicitly declare that man's conversion is accomplished by the same infinite power by which God created natural light out of darkness and raised Christ from the dead.

There are only two causes of conversion: the Holy Spirit and the Word of God. The converting or regenerating grace, however, is not irresistible. Man can offer resistance to God's earnest, regenerating grace and thus prevent his conversion. But he can not effect his conversion. Hence it can be said that non-conversion depends upon man's evil conduct, but Scripture does not allow the other statement that man's conversion depends also on his good conduct. A converted person is such solely and alone by the grace of God, while on the other hand, an unconverted person is such by his own fault because he wantonly resists the grace of God. The fact that one man is converted under the call of the Gospel, is to be ascribed solely to the grace of God, non-resisting not being antecedent to, but consequent upon the operation of grace. The fact, however, that another man is not converted, is solely due to man's voluntary resistance. (Formula of Concord, Sol. Decl. XI, 57—64. p. 716.)

Objection: If conversion is exclusively the effect of divine grace, or if conversion depends upon grace only and in no way on man's conduct, then God appears to pass by some men with His converting or regenerating grace: Answer: A converted person is such only by the grace of God; while on the contrary, an unconverted person is such by his own fault, because he wantonly resists the grace of God. This is a mystery which Scripture does not solve.

PREDESTINATION: There is no predestination to death. As to universal

grace, God's earnest, sincere, and efficacious grace extends to all men alike, in such a manner, that all those who remain unbelievers, remain such by their own fault. The distinction between common grace and efficacious (regenerating) grace, the former extending to all men, the latter to the elect only, is rejected.

There is a predestination to salvation, pertaining not to all men, but only to those who are actually saved. Scripture clearly reveals the fact that all those who are actually converted, preserved in faith, and saved, by the divinely established common way of salvation, are from eternity in God's counsel elected and predestined to be saved in this way and in this order, Eph. 1, 3—6; 2 Thess. 2, 13. 14.

Causes of eternal election: God elected those who are elected solely out of His mercy and on account of Christ's merit earned for all. Election has not taken place on account of anything good, even not on account of faith, which God foresaw in the elect. Scripture not only teaches that God has chosen us in Christ, according to the pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace, but expressly denies that there is a cause of election in man.

Relation of eternal election to the faith of the elect: In the decree of eternal predestination the faith of the elect is not presupposed (as is assumed by the theory that predestination took place "in foresight of faith"), but included. For God did not first elect them to salvation absolutely, and after that decreed to grant them faith as the means of obtaining salvation, but when God elected them He at the same time and in the same decree decreed to grant them faith and perseverance in faith. For in all passages of Scripture treating of this matter, not only faith, but the entire state of grace with all the spiritual blessings bestowed upon the Christians in time, are represented as flowing from their eternal election.

The Calvinistic objection: To affirm an election to salvation and to deny an election to death is an illogical position. Answer: This illogical position is that of Scripture. It is sound theology to speak where Scripture speaks, and to be silent where Scripture is silent. Therefore, no attempt is made to remedy this inconsistency.

The synergistic objection: Insistence upon the grace of God and the merit of Christ as the only causes of eternal election, and a denial of any and every cooperation on the part of man forces the admission that God's sincere and efficacious grace is not universal. Answer: This conclusion is not admitted, since Scripture does not admit it. Scripture in revealing God's eternal election, never makes it dependent on man's "good conduct", but merely on God's free grace in Christ. Scripture at the same time maintains the universality of grace.

The Synodical Conference repudiates the charge that it has introduced a twofold way of salvation (the way of grace pertaining to all men, and the way of election pertaining to those only who are actually saved), when it

teaches that election is also the cause which procures and promotes our salvation and whatever pertains to it. The one universal way of grace is maintained in regard to the elect also. But to state that conversion and salvation do not depend on grace solely, but to some extent on man's conduct also, and consequently, that eternal election also took place in consideration or foresight of this conduct of man, means abandonment of the one old Christian way of salvation, and the introduction of a new way of salvation, altogether different from the revealed way of grace.

The Lutheran Church has always taught that this doctrine is a mystery. Nevertheless, every Christian can be and is sure of his eternal election, which is best described as a certainty of faith, for it results, not from searching into the secret counsel of God, but by attending to and hearing the Gospel of Christ in whom eternal election has taken place and is now revealed in time.

FOUR POINTS: These refer to chiliasm, altar and pulpit fellowship, and lodges. The Synodical Conference in this respect takes the same uncompromising stand as the Ohio Synod. We shall have occasion to refer to these points in connection with the General Council.

OPEN QUESTIONS: The Synodical Conference admits of open questions only in the sense of "theological problems". The discussion on this matter included such points as chiliasm and Antichrist. As theological problems the Synodical Conference designates all those questions which are not decided in Scripture. Open questions in this sense are never "closed", since no human authority can supply the lacking decision of Scripture. To declare doctrines revealed in Scripture to be "open" or "free" for the reason that they are not yet "symbolically fixed" in the confessions of the orthodox Church, or not yet accepted by all orthodox theologians, would, in fact, be the same as to put the Church, her confessions and theologians, in the place of Scripture and to ascribe to the Church and her theologians the authority of establishing articles of faith.

The views of the Iowa Synod and the Synodical Conference on the subject of chiliasm may be stated thus: The latter holds it to be a false and dangerous doctrine and tolerates it under no form whatever in its midst, maintaining that it is not an open question. Whereas the former tolerates teachings on chiliasm as long as they remain "free from the characteristics of a fanatical view as given in the Symbols", referring to Article XVII of the Augsburg Confession. It maintains that it is an open question on which different opinions may be held without disturbing the unity of faith.

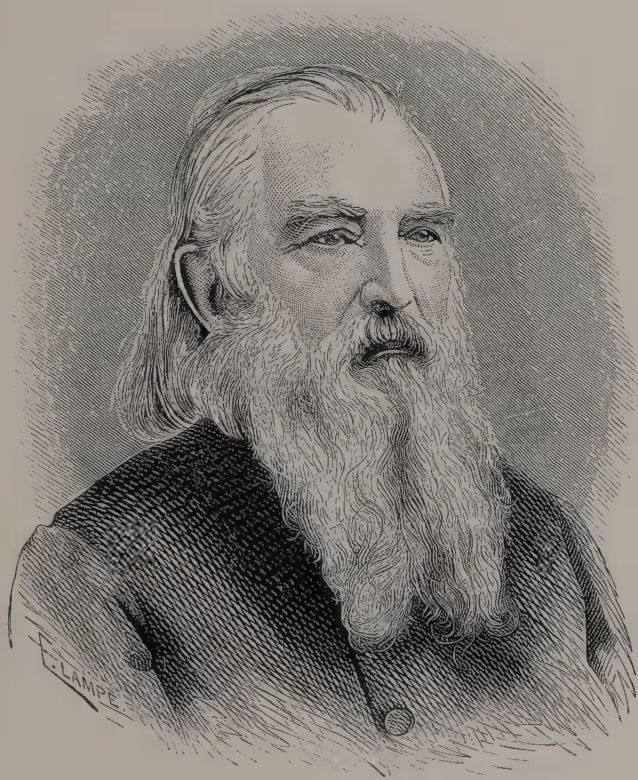
The views of these two synods also differ on the subject of Antichrist. The Synodical Conference declares that the pope of Rome, the papacy, is the great Antichrist described in 2 Thess. 2. It points out that it is necessary to bear in mind what the Church really is, in order to see that the pope is this Antichrist. The Christian Church is the communion of believers, that is, of those who believe that they are justified and saved by confiding in Christ's

merit alone and not in any merits of their own. It is this faith which constitutes the very essence of the spiritual life of the Christian. — Who, therefore, is the greatest enemy of the Christians or the Christian Church? He who uses every means to destroy in the hearts of Christians the faith that relies on Christ's merit alone. But this is what Rome is engaged in. Rome not only rejects the doctrine of justification through faith in Christ alone, but she, in the Resolutions of the Council of Trent, curses this truth by which Christians live. And this dreadful and blasphemous work Rome does under the disguise of exquisite holiness. Thus the papacy is the greatest possible foe of Christ and His Church, and all the traits which in 2. Thess. 2 are ascribed to the Antichrist, that he is to arise in the Church, exalting himself above all human authority, assuming to himself the prerogative of God, and sustaining these assumptions "with all power and signs and lying wonders" — all these traits we find in the pope at Rome. "Hence, we fully and heartily indorse the doctrine of the Lutheran Confessions, that the pope is the great Antichrist of whom Scripture has prophesied".

THE IOWA SYNOD. Wyneken and Loehe.

Another large independent body in the West is the Iowa Synod. To arrive at a proper understanding of the origin of this body and its peculiar character it is necessary to devote some lines to Wyneken and his relations with Loehe who at an early period stood in intimate relation to Walther and the Missouri Synod.

Friedrich Konrad Dietrich Wyneken (born May 13, 1810, died May 4, 1876) came to America in the year 1838, landing in Baltimore. He was a university graduate (Goettingen and Halle), had traveled in France and Italy, and knew the English language. He was induced to come to America by some articles which he read in mission papers, describing the destitute condition of the German Lutherans in the Middle West. Independently he embarked for this country in company with a candidate of theology, C. W. Wolf, filled with solicitude for his countrymen in the backwoods. He landed here a total stranger and after some difficulty located a Lutheran pastor in the person of John Haesbaert, pastor of the second St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church. After preaching for Haesbaert during his illness of six weeks, he was suggested as missionary to the Mission Committee of the Pennsylvania Ministerium by him. Wyneken shortly after received instructions to go to Indiana and gather the German "Protestants" there into congregations. By rail, canal, and on horseback he came to Decatur, Indiana, where he began his extensive missionary work, becoming the missionary pioneer of the Middle West. In his letters of this time he relates the many difficulties he had to face.



Pastor Fr. C. D. Wyneken.

What hardships and privations did Wyneken not endure! Through swamps and dense forests, in fair and foul weather, by day and by night, on foot and horseback he traveled through the counties of Indiana, into Ohio, even into Michigan. Every discomfort and hardship was endured patiently and cheerfully in the view of the dire destitution of his countrymen.

He eventually became pastor at Fort Wayne, Ind., making this his headquarters from which he served many missions in the surrounding country. Physically strong though Wyneken was those tramps through forest and swamp, through rain and snow without adequate protection, as well as the heavy burden of his work finally told. He contracted a severe throat disease. As soon as he realized what an immense mission field he had found and that it was far too large for one man, also that the Methodists were making vast inroads on Lutheranism, Wyneken appealed to his friends in Germany. He was the first to open the eyes of church people in Germany to the true nature of the teachings and activities of these Methodists. Up to that time the impression was abroad in Germany that Methodism was the dominant form of Christianity in America, which had its peculiarities, but taught repentance and faith. Wyneken dissipated this idea in short order. And what stirring appeals did not Wyneken send for men and financial help as he disclosed the dangers of Methodism! He was sorely grieved at the destitution on all sides and pained by the lukewarm response he received from abroad. He felt that he must visit Germany in person to plead the cause of these Lutheran backwoods people. His throat was also causing him considerable trouble. Finally the Mission Committee secured a substitute for him at Fort Wayne and in the year 1841 he sailed for abroad.

As soon as he had secured medical attention and relief for his throat he set out upon an extensive tour of Germany, starting in Hannover. It was principally in southern Germany where he achieved great success. In the city of Erlangen he gained the friendship of Professor von Raumer. He also visited Neuendettelsau and secured the complete cooperation of Pastor Wilhelm Loehe. With the aid of these two Wyneken published his "Die Not der deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika" (The Destitution of the German Lutherans in North America). This booklet written in Wyneken's lively and spirited style created a sensation in church circles of Germany, gained many prominent friends for his cause, and in general awakened a thorough interest in his work.

Loehe of Neuendettelsau took a deep interest in the American mission. Contributions began to flow in and Loehe undertook to train some young men for America. Among those who through Loehe or Wyneken's appeals, directly or indirectly, came to this country were A. Ernst, J. Burger, A. Biewend, W. Hattstaedt, F. Lochner, Dr. Sihler, and others, — all men of sterling worth whom we meet again in the Michigan, Ohio, and the Missouri Synods. Wyneken labored indefatigably during his stay in Germany and

returned to this country in the year 1843. Pastor Loehe at that time wrote: "On May 15, 1843, Pastor Wyneken departed to return to the arduous labors of a preacher in America. It was chiefly through him, through his personal words, through his sincere and stirring appeals in speech and in writing that the slumbering love for those forsaken and destitute in North America was awakened.¹⁾

The first men to be sent across by Loehe after some preliminary training were A. Ernst and J. Burger. In New York they were advised to go to the theological seminary at Columbus, Ohio, (Ohio Synod) which they did. Ernst became pastor in Marysville, O., and one of the first to be sent him by Loehe was Dr. Sihler. These formed a nucleus becoming members of the Ohio Synod. Loehe sent others to Michigan. August Craemer, later professor at the Missouri Synod seminary at Springfield, Ill., came to America at the head of an expedition which Loehe sent to Michigan, for Loehe had reached an agreement with Pastor Schmid of Ann Harbor, Mich., then president of the Michigan Synod. Loehe was interested in the possibility of an Indian mission. This colony with Craemer founded Frankenmuth. W. Hattstaedt, another emissary of Loehe, was in Michigan by that time and welcomed this colony. In the year 1848, three years after the above colony was founded, Pastor Sievers founded that of Frankenlust. Several more of such colonies were established in different places.

In the year 1845 Dr. Sihler and a number of others withdrew from the Ohio Synod on confessional grounds and a year later Hattstaedt, Craemer, Lochner, and Trautmann severed their connection with the Michigan Synod for the same reason. Loehe then advised them to get in touch with the Saxons on the Mississippi. Walther through "Der Lutheraner" had attracted their attention. At Loehe's suggestion Sihler, Ernst, and Lochner went to St. Louis and consulted Walther, Loeber, Keyl, Gruber, Fuerbringer, and Schieferdecker. The Saxons proposed the organization of a synod and a tentative plan was outlined at this conference. They agreed to meet again in the summer of the same year at Fort Wayne. Here the constitution for the Missouri Synod was completed and soon after published in "Der Lutheraner". Loehe also published it in Germany, expressing his approval of the action of his emissaries and showing his delight at the progress made. He indorsed the constitution and the Missouri Synod held its first convention at Chicago in the year 1847. Loehe thus had a great deal to do with the organization of the Missouri Synod, since his emissaries acted under instructions from him. Numerically also the Saxons were in the minority.²⁾ In the year 1848 Wyneken joined the Missouri Synod. He was then pastor in Baltimore (Haesbaert's congregation) and a member of the General Synod from which he withdrew in protest a short time before. While these things were going on Loehe founded

¹⁾ Hochstetter, Geschichte der Missouri-Synode, p. 101.

²⁾ Hochstetter, Gesch. der Mo.-Synode, p. 162.

a seminary at Fort Wayne where young men who had received their preliminary instruction in Neuendettelsau were sent by Loehe to complete their studies, fitting them for the American mission field. Dr. Sihler was made the head of this school. In the year 1848 Loehe presented this school to the Missouri Synod and for several years the relations between Loehe and the Missouri Synod remained cordial and intimate. Then Loehe underwent a change.

To understand this transformation and the eventual rupture between Loehe and the Missouri Synod we must bear in mind that Walther and Grabau, the Buffalo and the Missouri Synods, were waging a bitter controversy on the doctrines of the Church and the Ministry. Loehe was drawn into this dispute and his views began to incline to Grabau. It is apparent that Loehe living in State Church surroundings regarded the democratic ideals of America with suspicion. Hochstetter writes: "Pastor Loehe, as his articles show, not only had in mind to unite the scattered and separated German Lutherans in North America. His aim was also a union of all Lutherans of America, of Australia, in fact, of all Lutherans of all parts of the world into one church body. Though he approved the withdrawal of his emissaries from unionistic synods and expressed his pleasure at the organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Missouri Synod, he is not fully satisfied with the new turn church affairs took in America. He fears that he permitted his emissaries to gain independence too soon. There is also too much change in pastorates. In the main such changes should be controlled by the ministry or by a superintendent. Strict constitutional forms ought to be introduced, etc. Frequently Loehe expresses his opinion that American political freedom and acquaintance with American sects must have a contagious effect upon the dominant democratic tendency of the Lutheran Church or upon the popular rule prevalent in Lutheran congregations". Loehe thus misunderstood American conditions. And the controversy between the Buffalo and Missouri Synods seems to have confused him more. He endeavored to apply German State Church ideas to an American Lutheran free church.¹⁾ This appears also from his statement when the Iowa Synod was organized that the Missouri Synod represented the American Lutheran tendency, while his Iowa Synod took the German Lutheran position.²⁾

Out of these misunderstandings grew serious doctrinal differences between Loehe and the Missouri Synod. Letters which Loehe received from this country presented the work and the position of the Missouri Synod in a wrong light and Loehe was alienated. In a pamphlet which he published in the year 1849 he expressed views on the Church and the Ministry which were very similar to those of Grabau. To come to an understanding with Loehe in this respect, also to present things to him in their true light, the Missouri Synod at its

¹⁾ Hochstetter, p. 179 sq.

²⁾ l. c. p. 282.

convention in the year 1851 appointed Walther and Wyneken (then president of the synod) delegates to visit Loehe. After a number of interviews Loehe and the Missouri delegates came to an agreement. Loehe stated later that the difficulties were due to misunderstandings of the true situation in America. He expressed himself as failing to understand Grabau. Cordial relations seemed restored. But the situation did not last long.

A year and a half after Walther and Wyneken had been in Germany Grabau and von Rohr as delegates from the Buffalo Synod arrived in Germany. On the way to Neuendettelsau they distributed literature accusing the Missouri Synod of dissension. Grabau and Loehe came to some kind of an understanding in the year 1853, in which Loehe appears to have desired to remain neutral and put forth his own ideas. From this time onward Loehe sought to organize a synod of his own, in keeping with his own views. The Leipzig Conference on September 1, 1853 and the Conference of Fuerth, Bavaria, on September 22, 1853, before whom Grabau had also complained, declared that the doctrines of the Church and the Ministry in which the proper terminology had not yet been found must remain an open question among Lutherans until the Church had spoken; until then it would be the duty of Grabau and the Missouri Synod in America to live peaceably and fraternally with one another. Loehe took the same position, while formerly he had taken a firm stand against the unionism of the Bavarian State Church.¹⁾

Only two of his disciples remained loyal to him when he set about organizing his synod. These were George Grossmann and John Deindoerfer, who in company with a few others went to Iowa and settled in Dubuque in the year 1853. Deindoerfer went to St. Sebald at the Spring, not far from this city. "Shortly afterwards Sigmund Fritschel and M. Schueller arrived from Neuendettelsau, and, in conjunction with Grossmann and Deindoerfer, organized the Iowa Synod at St. Sebald, August 24, 1854. All persons who have described the beginning of this synod agree that no synod ever was founded under more discouraging circumstances. Deindoerfer lived at first in a small deserted log cabin, and afterwards, to avoid freezing, moved into the house of the first settler in St. Sebald, whose solitary room was divided into two parts by a board partition, so as to accommodate the two families. Repeatedly in the seminary the last dollar had been expended, and the last piece of bread eaten, while no one knew whence more was to be obtained".²⁾ Conditions among these Iowa Lutherans were very primitive indeed at this time and the newly formed synod grew very slowly, being entirely dependent upon such men as Loehe could send them.

"The organization of the Iowa Synod was caused by the fact that the Missouri Synod in its controversy with the Synod of Buffalo concerning the

¹⁾ Bente, Was steht der Vereinigung der luth. Synoden im Wege, p. 82. See complete in Hochstetter, p. 236 sqq.

²⁾ Neve, Brief History, p. 363 sq.

Church and the ministry would no longer suffer in its midst nor admit to its membership the men sent by Loehe who would not agree with Missouri's views. Then, as they could neither side with Buffalo nor with Missouri, they commenced a new, independent activity further West. Thus the Synod found itself in its very incipency involved in a doctrinal controversy in which the principal point between itself and Missouri was the so-called Übertragungslehre, the doctrine concerning the conferring of the office upon the minister".¹⁾

The organization being more or less hurriedly effected a constitution was not immediately adopted. "The organization of the Synod itself took place under Loehe's advice and auspices, as had been the case when the Missouri Synod had been established. This connection with Loehe has given to the Synod from its very beginning the peculiar churchly character which in the course of time, though developed and set forth more distinctly, it has always faithfully preserved".²⁾ Its doctrinal basis was defined in the so-called "Stiftungsparagraphen":

"1. The Synod accepts all the Symbols of the Lutheran Church, and it does so because it believes all the symbolical decisions on controverted points, previous to and during the Reformation period, to be in accord with the Word of God. However, since there are several tendencies within the Lutheran Church, it sides with that tendency which strives for a greater perfection of the Lutheran Church by way of the Symbols and the Word of God.

"2. In the founding of congregations mere assent to its principles with respect to doctrine and discipline is not sufficient. It requires confirmation (Bewährung) of such assent and for that purpose introduces the catechumenate of the ancient Church. Apostolic life is to be the aim in its congregations and to achieve this end official and brotherly discipline is practiced".³⁾

In the year 1854 Grabau who had visited Loehe the year before came to Dubuque and opened friendly relations with the Iowa Synod, which did not last long, however. During the years 1855 to 1857 Loehe was able to send five more men, among them Gottfried Fritschel, brother of Sigmund Fritschel, who became professor at the first seminary of the Iowa Synod. Drawn into the controversy between the Synods of Buffalo and Missouri on the doctrines of the Church and the Ministry the Iowa Synod already in the year 1856 had to define its position, which it did in a set of theses. "These theses", writes Prof. Kraushaar, "on the doctrine and the office of the ministry do not fully coincide with those drawn up by the Buffalo Synod, but they are so closely related that each synod accepted the theses of the other". Their forms of church government also showed the same characteristics. But the ways of the two synods did not run parallel very long. The Buffalo Synod

¹⁾ S. Fritschel, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 75.

²⁾ *ibidem*, p. 69 sq.

³⁾ Kraushaar, *Verfassungsformen*, p. 368.

ceased to be affiliated with the Iowa Synod with the year 1858, chiefly because of the latter's attitude to the confessions and chiliasm.¹⁾

To clear a debt of \$7,000 Prof. S. Fritschel was sent to Germany by his synod in the year 1860 to raise funds and returned successful a year later. In the year 1865 Prof. Fritschel was sent to Germany a second time, "not only to represent the synod at the twenty-fifth anniversary of Neuendettelsau, but to confer with German theologians, still recognized by Missouri, regarding the differences between the synods", in the discussion of which "eventually some of Iowa's pastors began to doubt the correctness of their synod's position". Harlesz, Luthardt, Muenkel, Guericke, and the University of Dorpat expressed their opinions, though not without some criticism of the Iowa Synod. These were laid before the convention held at Toledo, O., in the year 1866, resulting in a modification of the synod's attitude to the Symbols.²⁾ At this same meeting it proposed a colloquium with the Missouri Synod, which was held at Milwaukee in the year 1867, but no definite result was arrived at. At this same convention it resolved to join the General Council, but this move never materialized because the General Council declined to define its position on the Four Points. But it retained "an advisory voice in the deliberations of that body" up to a very recent date.

At the meeting at Davenport, Ia., in the year 1873 the synod was divided into two districts, East and West. It formulated its doctrinal position in the Davenport Theses,³⁾ which represent an effort on the part of the synod to bridge the chasm between it and the Missouri Synod. The constitution adopted in the year 1864 (revised 1869) was again revised here and a formula of ordination was substituted for the "Stiftungsparagraphen" of the year 1854.⁴⁾ It was at this time, too, (1872) that G. Fritschel attacked Walther on the doctrine of election, maintaining that the solution to the question, why one person is saved and another not, though both hear the same Gospel, is to be found in the voluntary self-decision of man (in der freien Selbstentscheidung des Menschen). This caused F. A. Schmidt, then professor at St. Louis and an opponent of the doctrine of "Selbstentscheidung", to write his "Iowas Misverstaendnisse und Bemaentelungen", to which Fritschel replied several years later in "Iowa und Missouri". There was much unrest in the synod at this period. The disciples of Loehe urged return to the position of Neuendettelsau, while others inclined towards the Missouri Synod (Schieferdecker and Klindworth). Bauer at Neuendettelsau, successor to Loehe, also made a plea for a return to the original standpoint, to which the Iowa Synod then responded by adopting the Madison Theses at Madison, Wis., in the year

¹⁾ Kraushaar, Verfassungsformen, p. 371.

²⁾ Neve, Brief History, p. 367.

³⁾ For text of these, see Neve, Brief History, p. 440.

⁴⁾ Kraushaar, pp. 373, 377, 379.

1875.¹⁾ This caused a reaction in which twenty pastors withdrew from the synod which at that time numbered more than one hundred pastors. In the year 1897 the synod celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary at which Deinzer, the successor to Bauer, was present, expressing his approval of the synod's doctrinal position and assuring it further financial support.

The Iowa Synod opened negotiations with the Ohio Synod, when the latter withdrew from the Synodical Conference because of the controversy on predestination. Colloquiums were held at Richmond, Ind. (1883), Michigan City, Ind. (1893), Toledo, O. (1909). At the last one the so-called "Toledo Union Theses" were adopted and since then fraternal relations between these two synods exist, though the Ohio Synod did not approve of the Iowa Synod's relations to the General Council.

In the year 1896 the Texas Synod became a district of the Iowa Synod which is now divided into eight districts, extending from western Pennsylvania to the Rockies. Its statistics show 586 pastors, 965 congregations, and 130,793 communicants.²⁾ Its official church papers are "Kirchenblatt", "Kirchliche Zeitschrift", and "Lutheran Herald". Wartburg Seminary, its theological institution, is located at Dubuque, Ia., besides which it maintains several other colleges and schools, charitable institutions and the like.

Its doctrinal position may be outlined as follows:

The Iowa Synod takes a peculiar attitude to the confessions. On the one hand, it declares that "the Synod as such accepts the whole of the Symbolical Books, as contained in the Concordia of 1580 It acknowledges just as explicitly its thetical as its antithetical decisions and declarations It discountenances every acceptance of the Lutheran Symbols by which they are accepted with the reservation as far as (quatenus) they are in harmony with the Word of God, because by this their conformity with the Scriptures would be put in question; on the contrary, it accepts them as its own Confession, because (quia) it is convinced of their conformity with the Scriptures".³⁾

On the other hand, however, it "does not see in them a legal code of atomistic dogmas of equal value and equal weight, but an organic expression of the living connection of the faith of the Church. Accordingly, there is a distinction to be made between the dogmas, properly speaking, and other parts of the Symbols; e. g., the frequent exegetical, historical, and other deductions, illustrations and demonstrations. Only the former, i. e., the dogmas, constitute the Confession, while the latter partake of this dignity only indirectly, inasmuch as they define the dogmas more clearly. What the Symbols state and intend as a Confession, the articles and doctrines of faith, this it is to which the Synod is bound, Doctrinal conformity by no

¹⁾ Ibidem, p. 385.

²⁾ Latest Government statistics, 1918.

³⁾ We follow the statement by Dr. S. Fritschel, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, pp. 69—89.

means includes all unessential opinions which are only occasionally mentioned in the Symbols. Thus, e. g., the obligation to the Symbols by no means refers to the article concerning the Conception of Christ by the Holy Ghost, and to the doctrine of the Perpetual Virginity of Mary, though the latter occasionally occurs in the Smalcald Articles. This would be a legalistic misuse of the Symbols against which the Iowa Synod has always protested".

Mere formal acceptance of the confessions is abhorrent to the Iowa Synod. "It discountenances all dead orthodoxy and next to the purity of doctrine and a Scriptural administration of the Sacraments it lays all stress upon showing the faith in a Christian life From the beginning the Synod has designated this tendency (churchly life as manifested in church work) as a striving after a more perfect development of the Lutheran Church. Although we must lament that in all these points the ideals aimed at have not as yet been attained, nevertheless the Synod is still striving for this object with untiring zeal. It is also striving after a growth in richer and deeper knowledge, but only on the basis of the Symbols under the guidance of the Divine Word To such progress the Synod is open, for such there is room in it, and within these limits it is striving for a greater perfection".

Its position on all subjects under controversy, therefore, is a consequence of this "historical view of the Symbols". In harmony with this viewpoint it maintains that certain doctrines must remain OPEN QUESTIONS, in order to avoid "sectarian exaggeration". Referring to Article VIII. of the Augsburg Confession, "the Iowa Synod accordingly declares that for church-fellowship there must be required no absolute agreement in doctrine, but only agreement in the doctrine of faith; but this, indeed, in the whole doctrine of faith, and in all its articles. This doctrine of faith forms the contents of the Confessions, and, consequently, the sum total of the doctrines of the Confessions is the indispensable extent of agreement in doctrine The Iowa Synod rejects the opinion that an agreement also in such doctrines of Scripture which are no doctrines of faith, be *conditio sine qua non* of church-fellowship, and that church-fellowship must be dissolved on their account This does not mean that we should not strive for agreement even in such doctrines as, e. g., Übertragungslehre, Conversion of Israel, Antichrist, etc., or that theological controversies concerning them are useless and harmful The meaning of that expression that these doctrines, on which there is in fact a diversity of opinion even among those who fully agree in the Confessions, must not be regarded as church-dividing, and that a difference of their conception can be allowed, because they are not doctrines of faith, and from their very nature there can be no certainty of faith concerning them, since they are not as clearly and distinctly taught in Scripture as the doctrine of faith.

The Iowa Synod, therefore, does not deny anyone church-fellowship on account of any views on the doctrines of the Conversion of Israel, of Antichrist, and his destruction at the Second Coming of Christ, of the Millennium

and the First Resurrection, and protests that this tolerance of different opinions on these subjects should be attributed to it as a synodical confession. "Only what the Confessions state on the Last Things it wants to have considered as its own Confession". On the other hand, the Iowa Synod can not 'reject the doctrines mentioned above . . . as heresies which would destroy church-fellowship, as long as they were free from the characteristics of a fanatical view of chiliasm as given in the Symbols".

It takes this position concerning the ANTICHRIST: "It does not see the Antichrist solely and exclusively in the Pope, but declares that the opinion may be tolerated in the Church according to which a personal Antichrist is to be expected in the Last Times The Confessions do not teach that the Antichrist is the Pope, but that the Pope is the Antichrist; and far from seeing the Antichrist exclusively in the Pope, they rather state in another place that popery is a part of the Antichrist's kingdom But the questions whether Antichrist be a collective term only or also an individual person, whether the prophecy concerning the same be wholly fulfilled, or whether some future fulfillment is yet to be expected, are exegetical problems which have not been considered in the Confessions".

Regarding the so-called UEBERTRAGUNGSLEHRE, the doctrine concerning the conferring of the office upon the minister, "the Iowa Synod rejected the view according to which the ministerial office is derived from the invisible Church, that it is originally vested in the individual members of the same in their spiritual priesthood, and by them conferred upon the ministers of the Church through their vocation to the Holy Office. The Iowa Synod agreed with Missouri in so far as it taught that the Holy Office was originally and directly given by God to the Church, but differed from Missouri in so far as it maintained that the Office was given to the Church in its totality, not to its single members, and that the Church possessed the Office in and with the means of grace, not in the spiritual priesthood and in the state of grace of its true members".

Its position in the controversy on predestination is also affected by its confessional viewpoint. "The Synod was well aware that even in the doctrine of Predestination there were points which must be considered open questions; e. g., the distinction made between election in its wider or stricter sense, as well as between voluntas antecedens and consequens, the teaching that election has taken place intuitu fidei, implying that faith is the condition or the instrumental or the subordinate impulsive cause of election, etc. The Iowa Synod by no means holds that Predestination signifies only the general decree to save all men through faith in Christ, which God eternally had decreed, but it teaches that it really is an individual Predestination, and if a man is saved, it avows this to be the effect of this decree on him, and the cause thereof to be no other than this eternal, effective, gracious will of God, and in no way man's own will, self-determination and merit".

"It maintains that individual Predestination has taken place within the universal decree of God, is contained in it, and is no other will than this same universal decree itself, however with a special reference, namely, inasmuch as it refers to the children of God in special, as they are known by God before the foundation of the world".

The Iowa Synod "also allows the other mode of teaching, which takes Predestination in its narrower sense, strictly as the election of a definite number of certain men from the great mass of reprobates, if there be also taught that Predestination in this sense has taken place *intuitu fidei*. The Synod, however, rejects the opinion that a discriminating selection of some before others has been made without regard to man's conduct, merely according to the pleasure of the will of God, and holds that this can be asserted of Predestination only when it is taken in accordance with the mode of teaching mentioned in the first place, as the universal decree referring and applying to individuals". In the narrower sense it asserts Predestination "to be the source of our salvation as well as of our faith and our persevering in the same". but "denies that Predestination, being taken merely as selection, is the cause of some believing and others abiding in unbelief".

It maintains "that the obdurate resistance of the reprobates, which God has foreknown, has prevented Him from predestinating them in His eternal decree". "It denies that the cause of God's not having elected all men and of His not taking away the resistance even from the reprobates is His secret will, according to which He will not do with them what He does with His elect, since it is distinctly revealed that the cause thereof is not in God, but in the persevering self-hardening of man. On the other hand, it is, indeed, concealed in the secret foreknowledge of God who of those who are called will believe, and who not, and who of the converted will persevere and who will not".

The elect can, indeed, be absolutely sure of their election and perseverance on the part of God, but not on their part of their persevering in faith, because the revelation of the decree of Predestination on which rests the certainty of perseverance of the elect runs thus, that God would support His work in them to the end, if they observe God's Word, pray diligently, abide in God's goodness, and faithfully use the gifts received".

On the subject of the FOUR POINTS it has had dealings with the General Council, that is, not on chiliasm, but only with respect to altar and pulpit fellowship and lodges. The reason why chiliasm was omitted can be seen from its view of open questions, due to its confessional standpoint.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

We must now turn back to the period when the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America was organized and outline the events which gave it birth. During the years 1850 to 1870 we observed the restless activity that marked the Lutheran Church in the Middle West. The Missouri Synod, though engaged in controversies on all sides, was growing with remarkable rapidity under the able leadership of Walther. The Ohio Synod was also increasing in size. The Iowa Synod, after overcoming the initial difficulties, also spread. Synods were coming into being in the lake regions; churches, parochial schools, colleges, seminaries were being built in all sections of the country. Church papers were published to meet the rising demands of the vast growth of the Lutheran Church due to the large numbers of immigrants, and to defend a strict confessionalism in its varying conceptions. By this means the strong influence of these Middle Western Lutherans extended to all parts of the country where Lutherans were found. This amazing activity was not without its effect upon the East, which still labored under the blight of indifferentism, unionism, and rationalism, nor was it viewed without concern or even suspicion. Referring to these Lutherans Mann wrote in the year 1855: "They came to this country from a state of oppression and even persecution in their German homes. No wonder that some bitterness has grown up here and there. Now they are here; no one oppresses them. They find a Lutheran Church which has managed to keep alive under the most unfavorable circumstances. Having had no strictly Lutheran organization from the very beginning, she has lost much that is Lutheran under a powerful pressure from without. Now they repel their sister who has grown up under such influences. They have themselves passed through many a sad and humiliating experience; but they at the same are in advance of us in strict adherence to the confession, churchly practices, discipline, etc. But now they have no patience with their weaker sister, no charitable regard for her historical and other surroundings; they utterly refuse to have communion with her. They recognize in her neither a Lutheran Confession, nor Synod, nor congregation. They act as if there had never been a Lutheran Church in this country before their arrival". And in this same article where he pleads with the Old Lutherans to have "patience with their weaker sister" (General Synod) he then describes how weak she really was. "Certainly the name is the most characteristic feature of the General Synod". — "But now a desire gradually manifested itself to gain popularity for the Lutheran Church in this country. The hard dogmatical knots of the old Lutheran oak were to give way under the Puritan plane. The body was deprived of its bones and its heart and the empty skin might be filled with whatever was most pleasing, if only the Lutheran name was retained! . . . Thus the Liturgy, the ancient lessons of Gospels and Epistles, the festivals of the Church Year, the gown and

other usages were given up, in order to keep the peculiar and distinctive features of the Lutheran Church in the background. Hoping to gain others they lost themselves. The Lutheran Church had given away her own spirit, and that was paramount to her own original life and character".¹⁾ Mann, it is true, referred to a period a few years before his own time, but the character of the General Synod eminently fitted these words. In fact, he had hardly finished writing them when Dr. Schmucker appeared with his "Definite Platform" which aroused such a storm of indignation, at the same time having a most electric effect upon the small conservative party in the General Synod. Mann himself wrote a strong refutation of this "misrepresentation and detraction of the Lutheran Church".²⁾

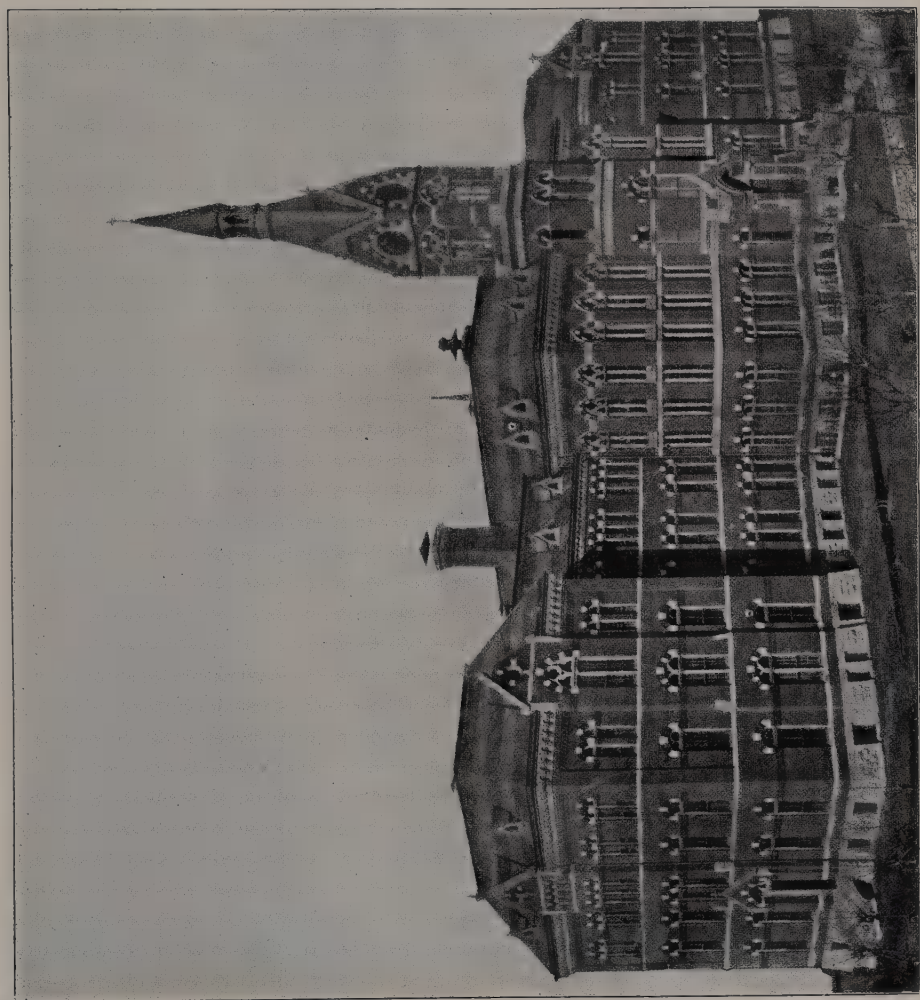
There always had been a contrast between a more or less strict confessional tendency in the General Synod from the beginning. The more conservative element was strongly reinforced by the accession of the Pennsylvania Ministerium to the General Synod in the year 1853. And after the fiasco of Schmucker a strong liberal and a conservative party stood cleanly divided against each other. And even though Schmucker resigned at Gettysburg, it was apparent that a rupture was inevitable. Dr. J. A. Brown, an opponent of Schmucker, became his successor. But Lutheran consciousness was now fully awake and the conservative party had lost all confidence in Gettysburg. Neither did the election of Brown regain this confidence. And, to be sure, there was good reason for this mistrust, for Brown proved himself confessionally no better than his predecessor, as his testimony in various court trials (disputes over church property as a result of the rupture in the year 1866) shows. He maintained that the Augustana contained doctrines which were not in accord with the Word of God. Asked to name the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God in the Augsburg Confession, to which the constitution of the General Synod referred, he mentioned seven out of twenty-one as being fundamental, one non-fundamental, and all others of fundamental character only. The Pennsylvania Ministerium, therefore, was indeed justified in contemplating the establishment of a seminary of its own at this time. Dr. Singmaster states, "that the election of Dr. Brown justified the founding of a new seminary in the same state, does not seem apparent, in view of his sound confessional position".³⁾ From the above it "does not seem apparent" that he "could surely have been safely entrusted with the training of the future ministers".

However, the whole situation before the final great rupture in the General Synod of the year 1866 has been admirably described by Dr. Neve. He writes: "While the Definite Platform had been rejected, its spirit continued to permeate theology. Liberals played fast and loose with essentials and

¹⁾ Spaeth, Memorial of Dr. Mann, p. 35. 33.

²⁾ Jacobs, History, p. 426.

³⁾ Distinctive Doctrines and Usages, p. 56.



Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

non-essentials, and carried this old method of shifting issues into the heart of the Augustana. It was left to the individual to decide which doctrines were fundamental and which non-fundamental. Only those features in the Augustana were retained which were held in common by all denominations. The aim was to unite all Lutherans in America on a basis of sufficient breadth. The word 'Unaltered', as applied to the Augsburg Confession, was not tolerated because it seemed to clip the wings of a liberalizing Melancthonism. The Formula of Concord and all other Lutheran symbols, with the possible exception of Luther's Small Catechism, were excluded from theological consideration . . . A broad basis was demanded on the ground that not only would Liberals find it satisfactory, but the Symbolists (Lutherans of the Middle West) also would find room for their views on such a platform. It would, of course, be required of them that they should not enter upon controversy with their more liberal brethren". Thus, "a Lutheranism broad enough to embrace both parties", "each to vitalize and bless the other and supply mutual defects".

"It was, therefore, the most natural thing in the world that a smaller confessional party formed itself within the General Synod, which stood opposed to the majority. Stimulated by outside influences and strengthened by its victory over the Definite Platform, it employed the brainiest theologians to plead its cause. Its greatest leader was Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth. In 1865 this brilliant thinker, an outspoken opponent of the Definite Platform theology, abandoned the last remnants of the confessional views under which he had grown up, and the controversy between the two parties of the General Synod assumed the proportions of a final and decisive conflict".¹⁾

A foreboding of the impending storm can be seen in the events at the meeting of the General Synod at Pittsburg in the year 1859, "a prelude to what was to come five years afterward in York". At this meeting the Melancthon Synod applied for admission to the General Synod. This synod had been founded by men of the Maryland Synod, purporting to represent an "advanced" Lutheranism. It was modeled after the Evangelical Alliance of London,²⁾ of which Schmucker was the virtual founder and a vigorous advocate. Though the Melancthon Synod had adopted the Augsburg Confession, it did so with the reservation that it contained some errors which it rejected. The conservatives were decidedly opposed to the admission of this synod. But Krauth at this time could still serve as a mediator and proposed that it be admitted and "affectionately requested" the brethren of that body to erase the implied charges against the Augsburg Confession.³⁾ The Pennsylvania Ministerium, however, stood out against admission when the final vote

¹⁾ Neve, Brief History, pp. 134, 135.

²⁾ "The Evangelical Alliance founded in 1846 in London aims at a union of all Protestants in opposition to Rome on the basis of some general principles, avoiding the distinctive features which separate the various denominations". Bente, Was steht der Vereinigung, p. 3.

³⁾ Neve, Brief History, p. 139.

was taken. The Swedes in the Synod of Northern Illinois (G. S.) refused to submit and severed their connection with the General Synod in the following year. But the Pennsylvanians were not yet ready to go that far. Nevertheless, the General Synod had here established a bad precedent, although according to the doctrinal basis of the constitution of the General Synod of that time there was nothing to hinder it.¹⁾

On the strength of this precedent another body of similar character as the Melancthon Synod applied for admission at the meeting in York, Pa., in the year 1864. This was the Franckean Synod (N. Y.), which had branched off from the Hartwick Synod (N. Y.), also on the grounds of a more "advanced" Lutheranism. It had also adopted the same attitude to the Augsburg Confession as the synod mentioned above, though it was much older. In its place it had adopted a "Declaration of Faith" of its own which was anything but Lutheran. In fact, some of the essential doctrines of Christianity and Lutheranism had been eliminated, such as the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, future retribution, etc. As early as the year 1839 the General Synod had condemned it together with the Tennessee Synod, "as representing the two extremes inimical to union in the Lutheran Church". It was, therefore, not surprising when the General Synod in this meeting resolved "that the Franckean Synod be admitted as an integral part of the General Synod, as soon as it shall have given formal expression to its adoption of the Augsburg Confession as accepted by the General Synod".²⁾ On the following day, however, the delegates of the Franckean Synod submitted the opinion that, since their synod had adopted the General Synod's constitution for district synods, it had thereby also accepted the Augsburg Confession and stood on the same doctrinal basis as the General Synod. Of course, the General Synod was embarrassed by the precedent it had established at Pittsburg in the year 1859. So after lengthy and earnest debate it finally resolved "to receive the Franckean Synod into the General Synod with the understanding that it officially declare at its next meeting that it considers the Augsburg Confession to be an essentially correct exposition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word".³⁾

Against this action an emphatic protest was submitted to the meeting

¹⁾ Kraushaar, Verfassungsformen, p. 446. See under year 1835, point 3, for this article and section of the constitution, referred to later in the protest.

²⁾ Nicum, Geschichte des N. Y. Ministeriums, p. 213, second note.

³⁾ Nicum, *ibidem*, p. 214, note. Nicum expresses righteous indignation at this farce when he writes: "This synod, it is true, did at its next meeting, held June 2—6, 1864, formally declare that the Augsburg Confession contains an essentially correct exposition of the doctrines of the divine Word. Three weeks had elapsed since the adjournment of the General Synod, and in that brief space of time the Franckean Synod would have us believe that it had arrived at a totally different point of view, that the Augsburg Confession is not a book full of heresies, as it had previously claimed, but that its articles are in full accord with the Holy Scriptures!"
l. c. p. 214.

by Dr. C. W. Schaefer, which was signed by twenty-eight delegates, among them the entire Pennsylvania delegation. Their argument embraced three points, based on article three, section three of the constitution which the protestants alleged had been violated by the admission of the Franckean Synod.¹⁾

At the same time the Pennsylvania delegation submitted a separate statement in which it protested the unconstitutionality of the admission of the Franckean Synod and withdrew from the convention on the ground that the agreement made in the year 1853, when the Pennsylvania Ministerium joined the General Synod, had been broken. A number of other synods withdrew in sympathy, as the New York Ministerium, English District Synod of Ohio, East Pennsylvania, Pittsburg, Maryland, Olive Branch, Illinois, Northern Illinois, and the English Iowa Synods. The agreement to which the Pennsylvania delegates referred was: "Should the General Synod violate its constitution, and require of our synod (Pa. M.), or of any synod, as a condition of admission or continuance of membership, assent to anything conflicting with the old and long-established faith of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, then our delegates are hereby required to protest against such action, to withdraw from its sessions, and to report to this body". The action of the Pennsylvania delegates, therefore, did not necessarily mean, as these delegates and afterward their synod pointed out, that a withdrawal was equivalent to secession. It was merely designed as a mode of protest. However, it must also be pointed out that article three, section three of the constitution of the General Synod (adopted 1835) under which synods were admitted to membership was very general and said nothing definite respecting the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church. After the Pennsylvania delegates had withdrawn, the General Synod at this meeting, seeing the damage such indefiniteness caused and seeking to avoid a schism, adopted an amendment to the constitution, in which the Augsburg Confession was mentioned "as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word, and the faith of our Church, founded upon that Word". This made the article more specific, no doubt, but by a previous resolution the Franckean Synod was now a member of the General Synod and the Pennsylvania delegates could not be expected to sanction the doctrinal attitude of this professedly un-Lutheran body by having fellowship with it in the General Synod. The adoption of that amendment, says Kraushaar, "was an effort to pour oil on the angry waves, but it failed to remove the antipathy which for some time existed between the two elements within the General Synod. It was too late for a compromise".²⁾

Following these events at York came the founding of the seminary at Philadelphia by the Pennsylvania Ministerium in its meeting at Pottstown, Pa.,

¹⁾ Nicum, *Geschichte des N. Y. Ministeriums*, p. 215, note, has the text of the protest.

²⁾ *Verfassungsformen*, p. 447.

(May 25, 1864), where it resolved, "that in the name of the Lord we now undertake the establishment of a theological seminary". It was to maintain a doctrinal standard in full conformity with all the confessions of the Lutheran Church. A special meeting was held at Allentown, Pa., towards the end of July in the same year where further details were arranged and the faculty elected. When the institution was opened on October fifth, many of the students at Gettysburg transferred to Philadelphia. How the Gettysburg people and in general the liberal party in the General Synod viewed this action soon became evident to the Pennsylvanians.

During the period between the meeting at York and the next one at Fort Wayne, Ind., in the year 1866 there was much discussion of the withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. Was it a member of the General Synod or not? The board of directors of the Gettysburg seminary undertook to decide this question for the General Synod by refusing to recognize the representatives of the Pennsylvania Ministerium at the meeting of the board held during this interim. The Pennsylvanians disagreed with Gettysburg, asserting that their withdrawal was not equivalent to secession. But the premature ruling of Gettysburg was sustained at Fort Wayne later.

Under the impression that it was still a member of the General Synod the Pennsylvania Ministerium elected and sent delegates to the Fort Wayne convention. There was intense bitterness abroad which beclouded the whole situation. Dr. Samuel Sprecher, president of the seminary at Springfield, O., presided at this convention. The credentials of all other delegates were received, but those of the Pennsylvania delegation were not. Sprecher rendered the decision that, since the Pennsylvania Ministerium had severed its connection with the General Synod by the withdrawal of its delegates at York, its representatives could not take part in the organization of the convention. After its organization the convention would decide whether the Pennsylvania Ministerium was still a member of the General Synod or not. This decision was sustained by the meeting. There was bitter dispute on this technicality for several days, but the Pennsylvanians remained ruled out. The whole proceedings hinged chiefly on the provisions the Pennsylvania Ministerium had made in the year 1853 at the time of its admission to the General Synod. The purpose of the decision of the chairman seems to have been to compel the delegates to apply for readmission and to have the provision of the year 1853 annulled. The Fort Wayne affair was nothing but a parliamentary dispute, though confessional differences may have been at the bottom of it. Parliamentary law and dignity were at stake, not doctrinal matters. "Parliamentary rules and matters of church government overshadowed this issue to such an extent that the meeting at Fort Wayne appears unnatural, forced and altogether unsatisfactory".¹⁾

¹⁾ Neve, *Brief History*, p. 172. For a full and detailed discussion of this affair at Fort Wayne see pp. 133-175.

A few weeks after this convention at Fort Wayne the Pennsylvania Ministerium formally dissolved its connection with the General Synod. Several other synods did likewise, viz., New York Ministerium, Pittsburg, English District Synod of Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, and the Texas Synod. At this same meeting at Lancaster, Pa., the Pennsylvania Ministerium also discussed the possibility of organizing a new general body. The committee instructed to report on this matter submitted the recommendation through its chairman, Dr. Mann, "to correspond with other Lutheran Synods with reference to the propriety of calling a convention of such Lutheran Synods, churches and individuals as may be favorable to the organization of a general ecclesiastical body, on a truly Lutheran basis". But the meeting went further than the course suggested. It resolved to issue a fraternal appeal "to all Evangelical Lutheran synods, ministers, and congregations in the United States and Canada which confess the Unaltered Augsburg Confession", with the invitation to form a new general body on distinctively Lutheran principles. A meeting to consider this proposal was held at Reading, Pa., December 12-14, 1866. Representatives of thirteen synods were present: Pennsylvania, New York, English District Synod of Ohio, Pittsburg, Minnesota, Joint Synod of Ohio, English Synod of Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, German Iowa, Canada, and the Norwegian Synod. The Missouri Synod through Dr. Walther and Dr. Sihler addressed a letter to this meeting, urging free conferences before proceeding to the organization of a general body. To this the meeting replied in a resolution: "that the synods represented in this convention, which prefer a Free Conference to an immediate organization, be and hereby are invited to send representatives to the next meeting, with the understanding that they have in it all the privileges of debate, and a fraternal comparison of views".¹⁾

Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth had prepared nine theses on the "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity". These were discussed and unanimously adopted. It was agreed that if ten participating synods ratified these articles the next convention should be called under the name of The General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America.

These articles by Dr. Krauth may be outlined thus: The first two affirm that to a true unity of the Church agreement with respect to the preaching of the Gospel and the right administration of the Sacraments, in one accord and conformably to the Word of God, is not only sufficient but also necessary. The third treats of general and specific creeds and their importance. The fourth emphasizes that the confessions must be accepted in their own, true, original sense. The fifth affirms that the unity of the Lutheran Church depends on her abiding in one and the same faith. According to articles six and seven the Augustana is by preeminence, in a particular and special sense, the Symbol of the Lutheran Church, and those churches only are entitled to

¹⁾ Neve, Brief History, p. 220. Quoted from "Documentary History of the General Council" compiled by Dr. S. E. Ochsenford.

the name Lutheran "which sincerely hold and truthfully confess the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession". And of these doctrines the eighth asserts: "We accept and acknowledge the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in its original sense as throughout in conformity with the pure truth of which God's Word is the only rule. We accept its statements of truth as in perfect accordance with the Canonical Scriptures: we reject the errors it condemns, and believe that all which it commits to the liberty of the Church of right belongs to that liberty". The last article then enumerates the other confessions of the Lutheran Church, such as the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalkald Articles, etc., "all of which are, with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, in the perfect harmony of one and the same scriptural faith".¹⁾

The principles of "Church Polity" are outlined in the following: "The power of our Lord Jesus Christ, as Supreme Head of the Church, can be delegated to no man or body of men on earth. All the power which the Church can exercise is through the administration of the Word and the sacraments, and is obligatory upon its members only according to the degree in which it is faithful to Holy Scripture. The congregations are the primary bodies through which this power is normally exercised. Congregations may act through representatives in Synods, and these Synods again in a General Body. The decisions of Synods command respect, chiefly because they are presumed to be guarded by constitutional provisions, which give greater probability of correctness than those of any single congregations or individuals. They are constantly subject to revision and appeal by the congregations. Synods can deal with each other only as Synods, and the official record must be accepted as evidence of the doctrinal position. Synods are organized to maintain sound doctrine, settle controversies, regulate externals of worship according to the New Testament, and in keeping with the liberty of the Church's work in every department of beneficent labor".²⁾

Referring to the proposal of the Missouri Synod to hold free conferences before forming a new body, it may be added here that an official correspondence sprang up between the two bodies which lasted until the year 1869. The Missouri Synod insisted on really free conferences, in no way connected with any sessions of the General Council, maintaining that the latter course, as suggested by the General Council, "would be peculiarly liable to misconception". The Missouri Synod had no desire to deal with the General Council as such and during the sessions of the same, fearing "that, by such a side-dealing with the matter, justice would not be done". But the General Council in every invitation, beginning with the one already made at Reading in the year 1866, offered to deal with the Missouri Synod during its (G. C.) conven-

¹⁾ Neve, *Brief History*, p. 215-217, the full text of these articles is reprinted, i. e., the principles of faith.

²⁾ Jacobs, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 112.

tions on the floor of the meeting. In its last reply the General Council expressed its regret "that the Missouri Synod saw fit to decline all official dealing with the General Council and even all non-official dealing with it in connection with its regular conventions". This ended the relations of the Missouri Synod with the General Council.¹⁾ Prof. F. Bente explains the Missouri Synod's attitude in this matter in the following words: "If one takes into consideration the past history of some of the synods which united in the General Council, that their praxis in many respects had been utterly un-Lutheran, that they only a few months before had been members of the General Synod, that they had withdrawn on technical grounds, that even Krauth shortly before the rupture had defended the General Synod, etc., — any unprejudiced person will admit that the Missourians in view of their principles had to act exactly as they did".²⁾

The first convention of the General Council was held November 20—26, 1867 at Fort Wayne, where five years later the Synodical Conference was organized. It was found that twelve synods had adopted the "Fundamental Principles" proposed at Reading, viz., Pennsylvania Ministerium, New York Ministerium, English District Synod of Ohio, English Synod of Ohio, Pittsburg, Michigan, Wisconsin, German Iowa, Canada, Swedish Augustana, Minnesota, and Illinois Synods. No representatives of the Missouri or the Norwegian Synod were present. The Ohio and the Iowa Synods had sent delegates, but they were not yet ready to join. Dr. Mann writes of this convention: "It is true, by far not all the Lutheran Synods of this country are represented in Fort Wayne. The Lutheran Church of the South is not here. Of course the Synods belonging to the old General Synod are absent. What should they want to do here? who only care to be called, but vigorously refuse to be, Lutherans. But we are in reality more anxious to be truly Lutheran and to believe the true Lutheran doctrine, than simply to be called so. We miss also the Missourians, those indefatigable champions of our Lutheran Church in the West, who so faithfully resist the destructive tendencies of the spirit of the age. They are absent, because, as we are now, we can not come up to their high standard in churchly doctrine and life. Others we miss whom we would like to see with us. Perhaps we may yet be granted the joy of having them with us"³⁾.

What held the above mentioned synods aloof from the General Council was the matter of the Four Points. These refer to chiliasm, altar and pulpit fellowship, and secret societies or lodges. The Ohio and the Iowa Synods carried these points into the first convention at Fort Wayne and requested a statement from the new body regarding them. For ten years and more these Four Points had agitated the General Council, causing no end of trouble. "The aim of the General Council was to be gradually educational; the other

¹⁾ Neve, Brief History, p. 220.

²⁾ Was steht der Vereinigung der luth. Synoden Amerikas im Wege, 1917, p. 42.

³⁾ Quoted in "Memorial to Dr. Mann" by A. Spaeth, p. 43.

synods desired thoroughgoing disciplinary regulations".¹⁾ At Fort Wayne in the year 1867 the Ohio Synod through its delegates asked the General Council to declare itself: "1. What relation will this venerable body in future sustain to chiliasm? 2. Mixed communions? 3. The exchange of pulpits with sectarians? 4. Secret or unchurchly societies?"²⁾ To this petition the General Council replied: "That this Council is aware of nothing in its 'Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity' and Constitution, nor in the relation it sustains to the four questions raised, which justifies a doubt whether its decisions on them all, when they are brought up in the manner prescribed in the Constitution, will be in harmony with Holy Scripture and the Confessions of the Church. That as soon as official evidence shall be presented to this body, in the manner prescribed in the Constitution, that un-Lutheran doctrines or practices are authorized by the action of any of its synods, or by their refusal to act, it will weigh that evidence, and, if it finds they exist, use all its constitutional power to convince the minds of men in regard to them, and as speedily as possible to remove them".³⁾ This answer did not satisfy the Ohio Synod and it sent no more delegates after this, entering relations with the Missouri Synod.

The Iowa Synod had also petitioned the General Council for an expression, urging the last three points only, however. The reason for its omission of the first (chiliasm) was its position on open questions in the controversy with the Missouri Synod. The Iowa Synod insisted: "1. That according to the Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church there must be, and is, condemned all church-fellowship with such as are not Lutheran; for example, ministers serving congregations such as are mixed and not purely Lutheran, receiving such congregations and their pastors into synodical connection, the admittance of those of a different faith to the privilege of communion, the permission of those not Lutheran to occupy our pulpits, etc. 2. According to the Word of God, church-discipline be exercised, especially at the celebration of the Holy Communion, and be likewise exercised towards those who are members of secret societies". To this the General Council answered: "That the General Council is not prepared to endorse the declaration of the Synod of Iowa as a correct logical deduction and application of the negative part of our Confessional Books, and that we refer the matter to the District Synods, until such time as by the blessings of God's Holy Spirit and the leadings of His Providence we shall be enabled throughout the whole General Council and all its churches to see eye to eye in all the details of practice and usage, towards the consummation of which we will direct our unceasing prayers".⁴⁾ But the Iowa Synod was not satisfied with this evasive answer and declared

¹⁾ Neve, *Brief History*, p. 221.

²⁾ *Documentary History of the General Council*, p. 155.

³⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 156.

⁴⁾ *Documentary History*, p. 161 sq.

that it could not enter into organic union with the General Council. Special arrangements were then made for the Iowa Synod, so that it could take part in all the debates in the conventions, a privilege which it made use of up to the present time. The Iowa Synod during the subsequent years has sought to bring the General Council to a definite stand on the points in question, but it has not yet succeeded.

At the next convention at Pittsburg in the year 1868 the General Council expressed itself in a set of resolutions on the Four Points, which is called the Pittsburg Declaration. 1. Concerning chiliasm it declared that it "has neither had, nor would consent to have, fellowship with any synod which tolerates the 'Jewish opinions' or chiliastic opinions condemned in the XVII. article of the Augsburg Confession". However, it maintained at the same time that there are some points in this subject on which the Augsburg Confession is silent and on which there is as yet no agreement among such as are honest and sincere in their adherence to the confessions. Such points ought to be discussed dispassionately on the basis of God's Word until an agreement is reached as to what God's Word and the confessions of our Church teach. This left the question open and satisfied Iowa.¹⁾ 2. With respect to secret societies it solemnly warned its members and ministers against all such societies for moral or religious ends as do not rest upon the Word of God, do not recognize our Lord Jesus Christ as the true God and the only Mediator between God and man, and assume to themselves what God has given to His Church and its ministry, which require undefined obligations to be assumed by oath. All such societies it designated as unchristian, and prompt and decisive disciplinary measures should be applied to such as are members of them. However, says Dr. Jacobs, "church discipline against them is rigidly exercised only in a few places".²⁾ 3. Regarding pulpit fellowship it declared, on the one hand, that "no one should be admitted to our pulpits, whether of the Lutheran name or of any other, of whom there is just reason to doubt whether he will preach the pure truth of God's Word as taught in the Confessions of our Church". On the other hand, "Lutheran ministers may properly preach wherever there is an opening in the pulpit of other churches, unless the circumstances imply, or seem to imply, a fellowship with error or schism, or a restriction on the unreserved expression of the whole counsel of God". 4. Concerning altar fellowship it stated that "altar fellowship is church fellowship". Heretics and fundamental errorists are to be excluded. Every pastor, therefore, has the right and the duty to examine those who apply for communion whether they possess the necessary qualifications in doctrine and life as required by Scripture. But in rejecting errors it was not the intention to condemn those who erred from simplicity.

In connection with these resolutions a minority report was submitted by

¹⁾ Kraushaar, Verfassungsformen, p. 470 sq., reprints this declaration.

²⁾ Distinctive Doctrines and Usages, p. 114.

Pastors J. Bading (Wisconsin Synod), R. Adelberg (New York Ministerium), and S. Klingmann (Michigan Synod), but was afterward withdrawn. Instead these men had a statement entered upon the minutes in which they emphatically rejected "each and every form of chiliasm as contrary to the Scriptures", declared "secret societies, such as Free Masons, Odd Fellows, etc., to be anti-christian and dangerous to the soul" and earnestly warned against them, and affirmed that to have "relations with such as are not Lutheran is unionistic and a practice dangerous to the Lutheran Church".¹⁾ The Wisconsin Synod here severed its connection with the General Council.

In the year 1869 the Minnesota Synod through Pastor J. H. Sieker as its delegate wished to assure itself of the correct interpretation of the Pittsburg Declaration, addressing some questions to the General Council at its meeting in that year. It wished to know 1. whether it was the meaning of the Pittsburg Declaration that heretics and fundamental errorists were not to be admitted to our altars and to our pulpits as teachers of our congregations. 2. Since the so-called distinctive doctrines, in which the doctrinal differences between the Lutheran Church and other denominations are expressed, are fundamental, whether the above mentioned principle is to be sincerely and consistently applied to all such as with respect to the distinctive doctrines do not agree with the pure Word of God as confessed and taught by our Church. — There being some difficulty in understanding these inquiries, the Minnesota Synod was given leave to withdraw them, presenting them in a different form, but substantially the same, at the next convention at Lancaster, Pa., in the following year (1870). To the first question the General Council replied in the affirmative, i. e., all such were to be excluded. Regarding the second it explained that it considers the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran Church fundamental. "Fundamental errorists" are such as "wilfully, wickedly, and persistently attack and repudiate the doctrines contained in the confessions of the Lutheran Church. But this does not refer to those who err from simplicity, leaving it to the conscientious judgment of our faithful pastors and congregations to deal with these, since they alone are able to judge the merits of each case separately. This explanation, however, did not satisfy the Minnesota Synod and it severed its connection in the year 1871. The General Council here made a distinction between "doctrines which are fundamental to the existence of Christianity", and such as are "fundamental to the complete integrity of Christianity".²⁾

In the year 1872 at Akron, O., the matter was discussed again, this time

¹⁾ Nicum, Geschichte des N. Y. Ministeriums, p. 276 sq. The chiliastic teachings of Dr. Seiss were never officially rejected or condemned by the General Council in any statement. How could it under the first point of the Pittsburg Declaration? Is not silence consent? The only thing that Pastor Grosse could add about the Pittsburg Declaration is that the General Council allowed this kind of teaching and had no intention of disciplining Dr. Seiss.

²⁾ Nicum, Gesch. des N. Y. Ministeriums, p. 280.

at the suggestion of the Iowa Synod which expressed its dissatisfaction with the statements made at Lancaster. It pointed out that the matter regarding the Four Points, i. e., altar and pulpit fellowship, was not one of pastoral theology (how to deal with difficult cases). It was the desire of the Iowa Synod that the General Council establish the confessional principle. At Lancaster the president of the General Council, Dr. C. P. Krauth, had stated: "The rule is: Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only. Lutheran altars are for Lutheran communicants only". If the General Council would accept this as its official position and thus establish the confessional principle, the Iowa Synod could join. The General Council then adopted the so-called Akron Declaration: "1. The rule is: Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only. Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only. 2. The exceptions to this rule belong to the sphere of privilege, not of right. 3. The determination of the exceptions is to be made in accordance with these principles by the conscientious judgment of pastors, as the cases arise". By thus adding the two latter sentences the rule itself was neutralized and its value as a confessional principle was made doubtful.

The next step was the Galesburg Rule, made at Galesburg, Ill., in the year 1875. Shortly before the Augustana Synod had taken a clear and unequivocal stand on the subject of altar fellowship.¹⁾ The General Council then at Galesburg passed a resolution expressing its pleasure at the progress made by the various synods in the direction of strict practice. It called attention to the principles laid down by the Augustana Synod, hoping that the practice of the synods might now be brought to conform to the testimony of the General Council, viz., "the rule, which accords with the Word of God and the Confessions of our Church, is: Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only. Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only". This resolution was severely criticised after the convention in the public press as bigoted, exclusive, illiberal, inconsiderate, unevangelical, unchristian. It caused considerable disturbance also within the General Council in the following years and a controversy arose whether sentences two and three of the Akron Declaration had

¹⁾ Six theses were adopted as follows: 1. Holy Communion is a means of grace which can be of blessing to believers only, i. e., to such believers as heartily accept what God's Word teaches regarding Holy Communion. 2. To partake of the Holy Communion worthily God's Word requires self-examination and self-examination presupposes a knowledge of God's Word. 3. It is the duty of pastors and congregations to see that all such persons which they admit to Communion possess such a knowledge of God's Word to enable them to examine themselves. 4. Holy Communion is a bond of intimate union not only with the Lord Jesus, but of communicants among each other. 5. To practice altar fellowship with such as, particularly with respect to the Lord's Supper, accept and acknowledge a teaching which differs from that taught by our confessions, is equivalent to a denial, more or less, of our faith and confession and a depreciation of the Sacrament. 6. Therefore only those should be admitted to the Lord's Table who belong to our Church and join us in confessing the same faith. — Reprinted in Nicum, *Geschichte*, p. 281.

been set aside by the Galesburg Rule. "There were then and there are now two parties in the Council. The one, to which belonged the Germans (especially the New York Ministerium and the Canada Synod) and largely also the Swedes, demand the exclusive interpretation of the Galesburg Rule. The other party, to which the English portion very generally belongs, insists that regard must be had to the principles set forth in points two and three of the Akron Declaration, and that stress must be laid on the fact that these were not rescinded by the Galesburg Rule".¹⁾ The Iowa Synod believed that the confessional principle for which it had contended so long was recognized at Galesburg and felt that the obstacles to union with the General Council had been removed. But it was disappointed when the dispute arose soon after within the body regarding the Galesburg Rule. "It is now waiting for further development within the General Council, still hoping for a final official declaration in favor of the confessional principle of unmixed communion and pulpit-fellowship".²⁾ Will this hope be realized in view of recent events? Finally in the year 1889 at Pittsburg the General Council took the position: "Inasmuch as the General Council has never annulled, rescinded or reconsidered the declarations made at Akron, Ohio, in the year 1872, they still remain in all their parts and provisions the action and rule of the General Council". Since that time the General Council has made no further statement.

Although there has been no controversy within the General Council or with other synods on the doctrine of predestination, its faculty at Philadelphia had occasion to express itself regarding it. The New York Ministerium had appealed to it for enlightenment. At one of the conferences of this body in the year 1882 this doctrine had been discussed. Pastor A. E. Frey of St. Mark's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., entered a protest against the statements made at this conference and asked the Ministerium to look into the matter in the following year. He withdrew and joined the Missouri Synod. The Ministerium asked the faculty at Philadelphia in the year 1883 for an opinion (*Gutachten*) which it gave through Dr. Spaeth in the following year. Dr. Jacobs outlines this statement thus: "The terms '*intuitu fidei*', '*ex praevisa fide*' do not present a satisfactory solution of the theological problem, but the condemnation of the use of such terms, when explained with the limitations placed upon them by our Lutheran dogmaticians, is not justified by the Confession of our Church We are justified not on account of faith, so also we are elected not on account of faith; but we are both elected and justified with respect to, or through the merits of Christ apprehended by faith, or with respect to or through faith apprehending the merits of Christ. Man can in no way prepare himself for divine grace, when it approaches him. Faith itself is entirely the gift of God, brought to man and wrought in man through the means of grace. Man's will is free to resist this grace at any stage. If man

¹⁾ Neve, *Brief History*, p. 224.

²⁾ S. Fritschel, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 89.

be saved, he is saved altogether by God's grace; if he be lost, he is lost altogether by his own sin and fault The universal grace of God is made particular by the obstinate resistance of those who repel the Holy Spirit. In those who accept divine grace, even the power to cease to resist is a special gift and endowment of the Spirit. What we call in time justification, is, with respect to the eternity that precedes time, election. God's foreknowledge of the justification of individual believers, is His election, with only this difference, that, as the will is impelled by no irresistible grace, its liability to fall continues to the end of this life, and hence justification may be only temporary; but with respect to those who remain in a justified state until the end of this life, election and justification coincide. Election is thus the pretemporal record of the justification of those who die in Christ Mysteries enough still remain, into the reasons for which we make no attempt to inquire".¹⁾ Within recent years books and articles have been written by prominent men in the General Council treating this doctrine, but the body itself has taken no action on this controverted doctrine or any other that has agitated the Lutheran Church. It prefers the neutral position that the General Synod and the United Synod in the South take in these controversies.

The Swedish Augustana Synod, the largest synod within the General Council, since the year 1909 has not been satisfied with conditions in the General Council. It viewed the centralizing of power in the general body with suspicion. There was a conflict between English and Swedish missionaries. It was jealous of its independence and had no desire to yield its rights to the general body. The matter was adjusted at Lancaster in the year 1911, but ever since that time there has been a tendency in the Augustana Synod to withdraw from the General Council.

Since the year 1905 there has been cooperation between the General Council and the General Synod again. In the year 1895 at Hagerstown, Md., the General Synod passed the following resolution to interpret the meaning of the words: "The Augsburg Confession is a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word" of the year 1864, viz., "This convention of the General Synod expresses its entire satisfaction with the present form of doctrinal basis and confessional subscription, which is the Word of God, as the infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as throughout in perfect consistence with it — nothing more, nothing less". There still being a dispute it once more in Des Moines, Ia., in the year 1901 passed a resolution: "We re-affirm our unreserved allegiance to the present basis of the General Synod, and we hold that to make any distinction between fundamental and so-called non-fundamental doctrines in the Augsburg Confession is contrary to that basis as set forth in our formula of confessional subscription". We note that in the resolution of the year 1895 the

¹⁾ Distinctive Doctrines and Usages, p. 116 seq.

word "fundamental" is dropped and the word "Unaltered" is added. Hence the dispute which led to the resolution of the year 1901. But neither of these resolutions was submitted to the synods for ratification. The General Council and the General Synod came to an agreement in the year 1905 regarding home mission work "that wherever one body of the Lutheran Church, hereunto consenting, is in occupation of a field and is shown to be, in a reasonable degree, able to care for our Lutheran material therein, the other or others shall respect such occupancy, and abstain from any attempt to plant an additional congregation to operate in the same language, and that in case of any disagreement, the Home Mission boards or committees of the bodies concerned shall amicably adjust such differences".¹⁾ But friction did not cease. However, this might be designated as the first approach between the two bodies and this tendency has increased from this time onward.

The General Council in the year 1907 at Buffalo discussed the possibility of an exchange of delegates with the General Synod, but it hesitated because objection was raised that the confessional basis of the General Synod was equivocal. This led the General Synod at Richmond, Ind., in the year 1909 to reiterate and emphasize the statements of the years 1895 and 1901. And finally in the year 1913 at Atchison, Kansas, it adopted the present doctrinal expression as contained in articles two and three of its present constitution.²⁾ But it is all on paper!

In the year 1916 the proposal was made to unite the three general bodies, General Synod, General Council, United Synod in the South. During the year 1917 the several bodies passed resolutions to that effect, the result being that the merger has now been effected and the United Lutheran Church of North America is an established organization. The Augustana Synod in the year 1918 declined to take part in this merger and severed its connection with the General Council. Here and there in the General Council voices have been raised against this merger. The Iowa Synod also did not approve of this step on the part of the General Council. In its "Kirchenblatt" (1918) it said in connection with the secession of the Augustana Synod: "We view with concern the developments in the Lutheran Church in the East, but we hope our fears will prove groundless. If so, the time may come when the Lutheran Church will be really united, not only in a truly Lutheran official confession, but also in the repudiation of every liberal spirit and un-Lutheran practice".³⁾

In the year 1918 the following synods belonged to the General Council: Pennsylvania Ministerium (1748), New York Ministerium (1786), Pittsburg (1845), District Synod of Ohio (1857), Canada Synod (1861), Chicago, formerly the Indiana Synod (1871), English Synod of the Northwest (1891), Manitoba (1897), Pacific (1901), New York and New England (1902), Nova Scotia (1903),

¹⁾ Kraushaar, *Verfassungsformen*, p. 475.

²⁾ *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 56 seq.

³⁾ Quoted in "Der Lutheraner", July 30, 1918, p. 260.

Central Canada (1909), and the Texas Synod (1851) which joined the General Council in the year 1868, became a district of the Iowa Synod (1895), and returned to the General Council (1915). The statistics are: 1664 pastors, 2389 congregations, 535,108 communicants. It publishes the "Lutheran", "Der Deutsche Lutheraner", and the "Lutheran Church Review", the last a theological quarterly. It maintains many colleges, several seminaries, and a number of charitable institutions in different parts of the country.



SCANDINAVIAN LUTHERANISM.



General Remarks.

One other nationality which we have not yet touched upon is the Scandinavian, divided into Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes. These Scandinavian Lutherans have played an important role in the history of the Lutheran Church in this country, but much of it is not known because it is hidden behind the Scandinavian language. In general it may be said that two tendencies were transplanted to America by the Scandinavian emigrants. The one is of a strongly pietistic nature, the other more conservative in conformity with the Lutheran State Church in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark with respect to doctrine, liturgical forms, and churchly customs. The early divisions among the Norwegians and among the Danes in this country were chiefly due to matters of church polity. Later these were caused by doctrinal differences.

In order to understand in some measure the various tendencies in Scandinavian-American Lutheranism it will be necessary to give a little attention to the conditions that prevailed in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden at the close of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In all three countries the State Church was Lutheran dating from the Reformation period. Their national characteristics are very much alike. Yet each country at this period developed a tendency of its own in the Church and these several tendencies show themselves in this country. In Denmark national life was affected by democratic influences, tending towards a separation of Church and State. In Sweden the direct opposite is observed. Here Church and State were closely knitted and held together by high church influences. In Denmark Church and State were finally forced apart by outside influences. Rationalism and sectarian elements (Baptists, Methodists, and Mormons) gained a stronger foothold here than in Sweden which presented a rigid front and more successfully excluded all heterogeneous elements. In this respect Norway and Sweden are more alike, for in both these countries it was internal movements, pietistic and revivalistic, which pulled down the barriers of the State Church, aided by rationalism which had made vast inroads on Lutheran orthodoxy.

and found an advocate in Prof. Clausen to whom Protestantism was equivalent to rationalism. Opposed to him stood Pastor Grundtvig, a zealous Danish patriot, who at this time championed the cause of Lutheran orthodoxy. He accused the clergy of the State Church of apostasy and vehemently agitated his contentions. Church authorities, to rid themselves of this disturbance, took recourse to the courts. He was condemned and compelled to resign from the ministry. Grundtvig's followers then gathered in conventicles till the year 1832, when they were again permitted to hold public gatherings. In the war between Denmark and Germany, in which Denmark lost Schleswig and Holstein, Grundtvig displayed bitter antagonism to everything German. He gave up his Lutheranism and threw over the Lutheran confessions because they were of German origin. Instead he accepted the Apostles' Creed only, placing it above Scripture, however. He denied the necessity of repentance and advocated a "cheerful Christianity". The Grundtvigians are, therefore, not Lutheran. It was due to his persistent agitation that the Church was finally divorced from the State in the year 1849 and freedom of worship granted also to other religions. Methodists, Baptists, and Mormons soon after this gained a firm foothold in Denmark. This explains why we find so many Danes among the Methodists, Baptists and, the pity of it, among the Mormons in this country.

In SWEDEN at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was the scholasticism and lifeless dogmatism of the State Church which caused a reaction among the people, of a pietistic nature, but not heterodox in teaching at first. The reading of the Bible and Luther's works was the chief characteristic of this movement. But the conventicles aroused much opposition on the part of the church authorities and also caused considerable popular disturbances. An old law of the year 1726, which forbade conventicles, was called into action and the government tried to suppress them by prison sentences and fines. In the year 1842 a dissenting party within this "reading" movement sprang into existence headed by a peasant named Eric Jansen who led many of the "readers" or "laesare" to leave the Church and to burn Luther's works as valueless. The majority of these emigrated to America four years later. In the year 1860 religious freedom was granted in Sweden and the same sects which entered Denmark made their appearance in this country, but they were not very successful in gaining as firm a foothold. The year 1877 marks the beginning of the Waldenstroemian movement, named after a former principal of a Latin school at Gefle. Waldenstroem attacked the doctrine of atonement, especially the vicarious death of Christ, disregarded the ministerial call, advocated the distribution of Holy Communion by the laity and lay preaching. He stood in direct opposition to the Church. The Waldenstroemian movement was also carried to America and caused considerable trouble for the Swedish Lutherans at that time.

Rationalism entered DENMARK at the close of the eighteenth century

In NORWAY rationalism made vast inroads upon Lutheranism. It was propounded from almost every pulpit in the land at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In consequence, church life came to a low ebb. Fed on the husks of rationalism the people turned to indifference and lost interest in the Church. The confession of faith became a matter of formality prescribed by law. But there were many earnest people who were sorely grieved at this state of affairs. The reaction against this lethargy took on a similar form as in Sweden. It was the laity who revolted and a lay movement was the result, headed by a peasant named Hans Nielsen Hauge who awakened the people from their spiritual apathy. As lay preacher he traveled up and down the land, urging the people to repent sincerely and to make their faith in Christ a matter of the heart and not only of the lips. Hauge did not put himself in opposition to the Church. It was later developments which turned his lay movement in that direction. Gradually, however, the Hauge movement became revivalistic, taking on all the prominent features of revivalism. Sanctification was urged at the expense of justification, the sacraments suffered depreciation, church customs and liturgical forms were disparaged. The disciples of Hauge were called "vakte" (awakened) or Haugeans.

As this reaction took on greater dimensions the clergy became alarmed. At first they decried Hauge as a fanatic. Then, to put a stop to his public speaking or lay preaching, they appealed to the civil authorities which, like in Sweden, produced an old law of the year 1741, forbidding lay preaching, seized Hauge and cast him into prison. Hauge languished ten years in confinement while his case dragged through the courts. These efforts at suppression, of course, created a strong antipathy towards the State Church and many left it on that account. Hauge's health was gone when he was finally released from prison, so that he was unable to carry on the work personally. But others had in the meantime continued the work of lay preaching and his home near the city of Christiania became the center from which he directed the work during the last eight years of his life.

Hauge's work, however, also had a salutary effect upon the Church. There were still some earnest, conservative Lutheran men in the Church. Such leading men as Caspari at Christiania exerted a wholesome influence on many of the younger generation of pastors. "But unfortunately their very conservatism was viewed as a hierarchical tendency by some of the friends of Hauge. To this may be added, that many of the clergy did not look with favor on the lay preaching so dear to the Haugeans. The difference between these two allied wings became evident in its American development".¹⁾

These general remarks on the ecclesiastical conditions in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway may serve to throw some light on the peculiar development of Scandinavian Lutheranism in America. It was during this unrest in these

¹⁾ Neve, Brief History, p. 387.

lands that Scandinavian immigration assumed such large proportions, drifting chiefly to the northwest, northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, the Dakotas, a section of our country which naturally appealed to these northern people.

Swedish Lutherans.

One is tempted to give the Swedish Lutherans first consideration because, on the one hand, they were the first to establish the Lutheran Church on American soil along the Delaware in the seventeenth century, though they lost their identity after several decades of existence; on the other hand, because it is comparatively easier to follow the history of the Swedish Lutherans than the Norwegian or the Danish. The last remnants of Swedish Lutheranism, we recall, had disappeared at the close of the eighteenth century, at a time when rationalism became dominant everywhere. Then about the second decade of the nineteenth century Scandinavian immigration begins, gradually increasing thereafter as the pietistic movements gained in momentum. So it happened that about fifty years after the disappearance of Swedish Lutheranism on the Delaware a new beginning was made, this time in the Northwest, which remained and grew into a large Lutheran church body. The missionary spirit in Sweden was growing at this time and men were sent far and wide to preach the Gospel. Since so many Swedes were emigrating to America it was but natural that these should excite the interest of the Church in Sweden. A missionary was sent to look after these people. Pastor Lars Paul Esbjorn reached this country in the year 1849, supported by the Swedish Missionary Society of Stockholm (founded 1839). He turned his attention to Illinois and his efforts among his countrymen met with immediate success in that he was able to found congregations at Andover and Galesburg a year later. Several missions were established which rapidly developed into congregations. He came in contact with some Norwegians in this vicinity and together with them organized the Northern Illinois Synod in the year 1851, entering the General Synod two years later. Another able man, Pastor Tuve Nilsson Hasselquist, came to his assistance in the year 1852 by accepting the call to the congregation at Galesburg. Another was Pastor E. Carlson who took charge of a Swedish Lutheran congregation at Chicago in the year 1853. These men did splendid work among their countrymen along the lines of the State Church in Sweden. Their field of labor spread so rapidly that they had to form three conferences: Chicago, Minnesota, Mississippi.

An important point in their work is that they did not rely wholly upon the Church in Sweden to supply them with men. They began early to train young men in this country. Failure to do this was one of the factors which contributed to the decline of Swedish Lutheranism on the Delaware. But Esbjorn and Hasselquist early recognized the need of training men here.

And when the General Synod founded the Illinois State University at Springfield, Illinois, arrangements were made for a Swedish professorship which Esbjorn accepted in the year 1857. He was occupied chiefly with the education of young men for the ministry. But the Swedes did not feel at home in the General Synod. Their adherence to all of the Lutheran confessions was in marked contrast to the attitude of the General Synod to the confessions. This confessional laxity of the General Synod became increasingly more evident to them as their acquaintance with the spirit that prevailed in this general body grew. When the Melanchthon Synod was admitted to the General Synod in the year 1857 Esbjorn and Hasselquist did not at all approve of this course. Neither could Esbjorn get along with the professors at Springfield. There was constant friction. And in the year 1860 he resigned his professorship. He established an independent seminary at Chicago in the same year. This was the beginning of the present Swedish Lutheran Seminary at Rock Island, Illinois, removed there in the year 1865.

Esbjorn's move was approved by the Swedes in the Northern Illinois Synod. The affairs at the Springfield institution as well as the action of the General Synod at Pittsburg moved them to sever their connection with the General Synod in the year 1860 and together with Norwegians and Danes they organized the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America at Clinton, Wisconsin. Hasselquist was chosen president of this body. Hasselquist is looked upon as the patriarch of the Augustana Synod. Much of the growth of this synod is due to his untiring work, outside of the pioneer missionary and educational work of Esbjorn. He founded the first Swedish church paper in America in the year 1855, called "Raetta Hemlandet". Later it became the official organ of the synod under the name of "Augustana". Hasselquist was a prolific writer. "As theologian he belonged to the conservative and Biblical school of Bengel. He is properly regarded as the most distinguished preacher and Bible expositor which the Augustana Synod has had".¹⁾

In the year 1870 the Norwegians who had greatly increased during these ten years peacefully separated from the Augustana Synod to organize a separate synod. Four years previous to this the Augustana Synod had joined in the organization of the General Council at Fort Wayne. During the years 1872 to 1875 it had to defend itself against the attacks of the Waldenstroemians. Waldenstroem had come to America and "created a sensation through his writings and addresses, so much so that the Congregationalists, who especially fraternized with him, gave him the title of Doctor of Divinity. His followers are called 'Mission Friends'".²⁾ This antagonism on the part of Waldenstroem did the Augustana Synod no appreciable harm; rather it strengthened its Lutheran consciousness. It successfully combated the

¹⁾ Neve, Brief History, p. 235.

²⁾ Ibidem, p. 234.

Waldenstroemian movement and has had a remarkable growth ever since. It now covers all of the United States, maintaining many colleges, charitable institutions and missions. It still maintains relations with the State Church in Sweden. There was friction between the Augustana Synod and the General Council's missionary activities and it was not wholly pleased with the General Council's attitude on the Four Points. As already mentioned, it declined to take part in the merger of the General Synod, General Council, and United Synod in the South, and on that account seceded from the General Council in the year 1918. Outside of the conflict with the Waldenstroemians it has not been engaged in any controversy. Its doctrinal position may be designated as moderately conservative. In the General Council it was the most conservative body. Its statistics show 756 pastors, 1,754 congregations, 204,081 communicants.

The great majority of Swedish immigrants came from the State Church in Sweden and in this country readily identified themselves with the Augustana Synod because of the intimate relation between the two. There were, however, also large numbers who came from pietistic circles. These did not join the Augustana Synod as a rule. In the beginning many did because there was no other Swedish body except the Augustana Synod. But in the year 1868 some of these free-church Swedes, as they are called, separated from the First Swedish Lutheran Church of Chicago and organized a congregation. Other similar congregations then sprang into existence in Illinois and Iowa, keeping in touch with one another. A number of such congregations then united in the year 1873 and formed the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Synod. In the following year another group of Swedes of the same tendency organized the Swedish Evangelical Ansgarii Synod. A union of these two bodies in the year 1885 brought about the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America. This is a loose union of congregations, not a church body in the proper sense of the word. These congregations maintain "that each Christian church is a voluntary union of individuals upon the foundation of faith in Christ Jesus and of brotherly love and confidence, this union to be held open to every believer leading a Christian life, without considering differences of creeds as far as these do not imply a denial of the authority of the Holy Scripture".

When the two bodies mentioned above united in the year 1885 a few churches declined to take part and formed the Swedish Evangelical Free Mission which is limited more or less to Utah. These maintain that each one is at liberty to teach and believe according to his own convictions. One can hardly classify these two small bodies as distinctively Lutheran. But we mention them here merely to show how strong orthodox Swedish Lutheranism is over against the separatistic and pietistic elements in this country.

Norwegian Lutherans.

The history of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in this country presents an entirely different aspect from that of the Swedes and it is considerably more difficult to follow their history because they split up into so many separate organizations, some mixed with Danes and Swedes. Some of these bodies, however, united and thus clarified the situation. In the Norwegian immigration of the middle of the nineteenth century the greater number no doubt came from the State Church in Norway. These settled chiefly in the Northwest, like the Swedes, though a Norwegian settlement is found near Rochester, N. Y., as early as the year 1825. A representative of the Swedish State Church was the first in the field among the Swedish immigrants in America, showing that the Swedish church authorities were much more alive than the Norwegian ecclesiastics to the needs of their countrymen over here and the great possibilities for missionary work. The missionary spirit has always been much more active in Sweden than in Norway. In fact, it was Wyneken's loud appeals in Germany which aroused the Norwegians to take a lively interest in their countrymen. But of this later.

The first Norwegian missionary in the field was a follower of Hauge, who, however, proved himself incapable of becoming a leader among the Norwegians. This was Elling Eielsen (born 1804, died 1883) who as lay preacher had traveled all over Norway, had gone to Denmark and arrived in America in the year 1839. He came upon a large Norwegian settlement on the Fox River, Illinois, and began his work here by gathering these into loose organizations characteristic of the Haugeans. Two others, Ole Andrewsen and Paul Andersen, came to his assistance from Norway and missionary work was extended to Wisconsin. In the year 1843 Eielsen was ordained by Pastor Hoffmann ("Hans Buschbauer" of the "Germania", Milwaukee) of Duncan's Grove, not far from Chicago. And in the year 1846 Eielsen and his two helpers together with the Norwegians of this section organized a church body at Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, called the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. A year later, we remember, the Missouri Synod was organized, and Loehe's emissaries and pastors of the Buffalo Synod were in this vicinity. But no contact worthy of note seems to have been established with these, the objection being probably that they were too orthodox. Eielsen had a dislike for anything that smacked of state-churchism, especially fixed liturgical forms. The constitution adopted for his organization served merely as a bond of fellowship. Freedom of expression for the "vakte" (awakened) without any definite form was Eielsen's ideal. Pontoppidan's explanation of Luther's Small Catechism was the only fixed doctrinal expression that he countenanced. In the long run this form of organization or brotherhood did not satisfy. Eielsen's helpers soon began to disagree with him. Since Eielsen apparently would not listen to reason they quit him in the year 1848. Andrewsen and

Andersen, after cutting loose from Eielsen, first wandered into the Franckean Synod, then they are found in the Northern Illinois Synod (Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes had formed this synod, we recall), and in the year 1860 they took part in the organization of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod, mentioned in connection with the Swedes.

In the year 1850 Peder Andreas Rasmussen came to America and joined Eielsen. Rasmussen was a schoolteacher, but a very able worker. In order to equip himself for the ministry, since the congregation at Lisbon (Fox River), Illinois, wanted him as pastor, he visited the Missouri Synod seminary at Fort Wayne and after completing his studies was ordained by Dr. Sihler in the year 1854, accepting the call to Lisbon. "He assisted Eielsen, who had no organizing talents and placed little value on form and order. But Rasmussen had a clearer view, and pointed out many things in the constitution that needed improvement. This offended Eielsen".¹⁾ The two could not get along with one another very well after that and in the year 1856 Rasmussen and his friends left Eielsen and continued independently for some time.

However, dissatisfaction continued even after Rasmussen left. The remaining element insisted upon a revision of the constitution and a better form of organization. Eielsen finally yielded, but the revision amounted to no more than a few explanatory notes to the constitution. The only material change was the name. The synod should henceforth be known as the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Hauge Synod. This piqued Eielsen. This revision was made in the year 1875 and when the next meeting was held under the new name, Eielsen though he had consented to the change and came to this meeting, nevertheless held aloof and soon after gathered his few adherents and maintained the old body, generally called Eielsen's Synod. They claim to be the true followers of Hauge and insist upon the old name of Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. But it has remained a very small body ever since.

The Hauge Synod, however, made rapid progress and grew to be a large body. In the course of time it built educational and benevolent institutions and spread out over the North Central States. The church paper "Budbaeren" (Messenger) which had been founded in the year 1863 became the official organ of this synod. In the year 1916 it numbered 172 pastors, 354 congregations, and about 39,750 communicants and was divided into nine districts.

The Hauge Synod was the Hauge Movement of Norway transplanted to America. Its tendencies, therefore, were strongly pietistic. As its doctrinal basis it adopted the ecumenical creeds, the Augsburg Confession, and Luther's Small Catechism with Pontoppidan's explanation.²⁾ It insisted on lay preach-

¹⁾ Neve, Brief History, p. 391.

²⁾ Pontoppidan (born 1698, died 1764) was a Danish bishop and the most learned of the Scandinavian theologians of his time, a strong supporter of pietism. At the direction of the crown (1736) he prepared an explanation of Luther's Small Catechism and a new hymnal. Through these two works he rendered the cause of pietism very able assistance.

ing as essential to a true expression of Christianity. The work of the Church is to gather the "vakte" or "true Christians" and have them relate their spiritual experiences for the edification of the congregation. It declared that Christian congregations consist of true believers only, a Donatistic tendency. Revivals were considered of great importance. Fixed liturgical forms were looked upon as hierarchical. In the year 1916 this synod united with the Norwegian Synod and the United Norwegian Synod to form one general body.

Perhaps the majority of the Norwegians who came to this country in the middle of the last century in such large numbers came from the State Church. The Norwegian State Church had been thoroughly shaken by the Hauge movement and there was a return to the old Lutheran standards among the younger pastors under the able leadership of some able Lutheran professors at the University of Christiania. In the year 1842, we remember, Wyneken was in Germany agitating the cause of the German Lutherans in America. It seems an odd coincident, but Wyneken's work also had its effect upon things in Norway. As Wyneken urged the Germans to take a personal interest in their countrymen across the Atlantic, so there were some also in the State Church of Norway who realized that something ought to be done for the many Norwegians who had emigrated to America. A Norwegian pastor in the year 1844 wrote to Loehe at Neuendettelsau: "Since my visit with you we, too, have taken an interest in American affairs. You know, of course, that several thousand Norwegians have emigrated to Illinois and Wisconsin, where they have lived until now without the service of a minister of the Gospel. During the last summer, however, a young Dane, a truly pious and earnest man, with sound Lutheran convictions, went over there, and has just been ordained. And this month Pastor J. C. W. Dietrichsen, a Norwegian, who was with me in the greater part of my travels in Germany, will also go to help our beloved countrymen in North America. A Christian man here has offered him 3,000 Gylden for that purpose. It would be very desirable that German and Norwegian Lutherans should work hand in hand in America".¹⁾

The Dane mentioned in this letter was Claus Lauriz Clausen. He came to America in the year 1843, arriving in Muskego, Wisconsin. The Norwegians there wanted him as pastor, so they sent some delegates to Pastor Kruse of the Buffalo Synod at Freistadt, Wisconsin, to ask him to ordain Clausen. After an examination the ordination took place in October of the same year in the midst of the Norwegian congregation. This church at Muskego, Wisconsin, is the first Norwegian Lutheran church organized in America and may be considered the mother church of the Norwegian Lutheran Church, as Trinity Church, St. Louis, is that of the Missouri Synod. Clausen adhered to the teachings and customs of the State Church in Norway and Denmark and was the first to gather the Norwegian immigrants into regularly organized

¹⁾ Kirchliche Mitteilungen, No. 4, 1845. Quoted by Neve, Brief History, p. 389.

congregations. He kept in touch with the Church abroad which sent over other ordained pastors. The one mentioned in the letter above reached Clausen in the year 1844. During the following nine years seven others came to Clausen, all of whom became well known and prominent men in the Norwegian Lutheran Church: H. A. Stub, A. C. Preus, H. A. Preus, N. O. Brandt, G. F. Dietrichsen, J. A. Ottesen, U. V. Koren. These men, with the exception of Koren, together with twenty-eight congregations founded the Synod for the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America in the year 1853, commonly known as the Norwegian Synod. Koren arrived shortly after the organization was effected. All of these men coming from the State Church adhered closely to the ways of the mother church, laid stress on doctrine and churchly usages. "Some of the first of these ministers were, no doubt, tainted to some degree with Grundtvig's views, but the Synod as such, appears to have opposed that tendency . . . from the beginning".¹⁾ It grew very rapidly and soon rose into prominence among the Norwegians as the most conservative exponent of Lutheranism. As early as the year 1857 they came in contact with the Missouri Synod where they found a kindred spirit. If there were Grundtvigian views in the beginning these were soon discarded, for we soon find these men taking a firm stand for the Lutheran confessions. In the year 1862 Rasmussen, who had left Eielsen in the year 1856, joined the Norwegian Synod. Rasmussen because of his eminent talents became a leader in the synod and contributed in large measure to the growth and development of the synod. Another was H. A. Preus who brought the synod upon a sound confessional basis. Undoubtedly the most prominent among these Norwegians for many years was Ulrik Vilhelm Koren (born 1826, died 1901). "From the year 1887, when the Antimissourians withdrew, he occupied nearly the same position in the Norwegian Synod as Walther held in the German Synod of Missouri". When Preus died he became president of his synod in the year 1894. "Koren had all the qualifications of a leader. He was a clear thinker, an eloquent speaker, a strong debater, a keen observer, and a fine diplomat . . . Under his able leadership the Missourians in the Synod grew from a minority to a two-thirds majority".²⁾

Like the Swedes the Norwegians took an early interest in the education of young men for the ministry. The Norwegian Synod did not at first establish an institution of its own for that purpose, but reached an understanding with the Missouri Synod, sending Peter Lauriz Larsen as professor to St. Louis in the year 1859 to train Norwegian men for the ministry. During the Civil War the St. Louis seminary was closed for a short time because of Walther's attitude toward the slavery question. The Norwegians disagreed with Walther on this subject, withdrew their professor and started a seminary at Halfway Creek, Wisconsin. In the year 1862 they removed this institution to Decorah, Iowa,

¹⁾ F. A. Schmidt, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 209.

²⁾ Neve, *Brief History*, p. 410.

where it grew into a large and well-equipped seminary. Clausen, the Dane, during this confusion of the Civil War period left the Norwegian Synod on account of the slavery question. This war thus effected the western Lutherans just as much as the eastern. When the organization of the General Council was under consideration the Norwegian Synod sent delegates to the Reading convention in the year 1866, but it did not join the General Council. In the year 1871 it united with the Missouri Synod and other synods in the organization of the Synodical Conference. The following year it again sent a professor to St. Louis, electing Pastor F. A. Schmidt to this position. When in the year 1876 the Norwegian Synod established a seminary at Madison, Wisconsin, Schmidt was called there as professor. The year before the practical department of the St. Louis seminary had been transferred to Springfield, Illinois, (the buildings acquired here by the Missouri Synod had served as the Illinois State University where Esbjorn had been Swedish professor). Pastor O. B. Asperheim became Norwegian professor here.

Around this time begins the great and famous controversy on election and conversion. It started with Walther's paper on election, read at Altenburg, Missouri, in the year 1877. Asperheim disagreed with Walther and expressed his dissent. Schmidt at Madison attacked Asperheim on that account and the latter resigned his professorship at Springfield, served a congregation in New York, and returned to Norway. Schmidt sided with Walther then. Reports of the events that followed conflict a great deal and it would be profitable if a thorough study of the records and documents of this period were made regarding the origin of the dispute between Schmidt and the Missouri Synod. At any rate, two professorships were to be filled at St. Louis and Schmidt and Stelhorn had been mentioned as candidates. Schmidt may have figured on being elected to one of the professorships, and when the lines did not fall that way he was disappointed. At any rate Schmidt afterwards opposed Walther in the controversy on the doctrine of election. In his publication "Altes und Neues" in the year 1880 he accused the Missouri Synod of Cryptocalvinism. This brought the controversy into the Norwegian Synod and Schmidt's agitation against the Missouri Synod divided the synod into two camps. To avoid a rupture in its own midst the Norwegian Synod withdrew from the Synodical Conference in the year 1883. Self-preservation, not doctrinal difference, was the cause for this separation. But Schmidt continued the agitation and in the year 1890 a rupture occurred anyway, when Schmidt seceded, taking about one third of the synod with him which called itself the Antimissourian Brotherhood.

The Norwegian Synod, however, continued its work with unmitigated zeal and enthusiasm and soon recuperated. Territorially it extended over all of the northern States from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was divided into four districts and in the year 1916 numbered 432 pastors, 1050 congregations, and about 98,200 communicants. Doctrinally it always was the most con-

servative body among the Norwegians. It never again joined the Synodical Conference, but friendly relations obtained to a very recent date.

So far we have treated the Eielsen Synod, Hauge Synod, and the Norwegian Synod. In connection with the Swedes we noted that a number of Norwegians in the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod peacefully separated from the body to form a church body of their own in the year 1870 at Andover, Illinois. Since then the Swedish body has been called the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod. The intention of the Norwegians when they branched off was to form a Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod. A constitution had been prepared, but two paragraphs only were accepted at this meeting. Further plans for the organization were delayed until a conference could be held with Pastor C. L. Clausen of St. Ansgar, Iowa, who with his congregation had remained independent since his withdrawal from the Norwegian Synod during the Civil War. After an agreement was reached another meeting was held in which the resolutions respecting the two paragraphs of Andover were rescinded. The constitution which Clausen submitted was adopted and brought about the Conference for the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in the year 1870 with Clausen as president. But the hope that the Danes might join this conference was not realized.

This concession to Clausen displeased a small party of Norwegians. Pastor O. J. Hatlestad who had been chairman at the first meeting at Andover was the leader of this dissenting party. They protested against the repeal of the original Andover resolutions. They met in the fall of the year 1870 at Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, adopted the rest of that constitution and organized under the name of Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod. This, of course, caused antagonism between these two bodies. In the course of the following years, however, this ill feeling subsided. But for twenty years this split-up condition prevailed among the Norwegians. In all there were now six different synods, some having good cause for separate existence, others not. It might be profitable to tarry here a moment, in order to line up these various Norwegian bodies. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (Eielsen's Synod) was organized in the year 1846; the Synod for the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America (Norwegian Synod) in the year 1853; the Conference for the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in the year 1870; the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod in the same year; the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Hauge Synod in the year 1875 (came out of Eielsen's Synod); the Antimissourian Brotherhood in the year 1887 (by secession from the Norwegian Synod in the controversy on election and conversion). It will now be understood how difficult it is to follow the history of the Norwegian Lutherans, especially at this period. Fortunately, however, this situation was cleared up by a union of several of these bodies.

In the year 1887, the same year in which this party had withdrawn from

the Norwegian Synod, the Antimissourian Brotherhood made proposals to three other synods, suggesting the organization of a general body. The Brotherhood rallied around the independent seminary at Northfield, Minnesota, where F. A. Schmidt was professor, but it was not a close, compact organization. It was merely a free union as the name implies. At the suggestion of this Brotherhood free conferences were held for a number of years with the two bodies that had branched off from the Swedes in the year 1870. They reached an agreement and in the year 1890 the Antimissourian Brotherhood, the Conference for the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod united and organized the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America at Minneapolis, Minnesota. This merger exceeded all other Norwegian synods in size and at the same time reduced the number of synods to three. All went well in this merger until it came to the transfer of Augsburg Seminary at Minneapolis which had belonged to the Norwegian-Danish Conference. This institution had been founded in the year 1869 and is the oldest Norwegian seminary in America. Its management was in the hands of a board of trustees. "When the demand came that the seminary should, according to an agreement with the Norwegian-Danish Conference, be transferred to the United Norwegian Church in such a manner as to enable that church to control it entirely, it became evident to some that material changes were intended in the plan of the school, and on this account the board of trustees refused to transfer, unconditionally, the property and management of the seminary to the United Church The United Church did not approve of the view which Augsburg Seminary had in regard to the requirements of a theological education, in regard to the ministry, the congregation and the church".¹⁾ About fifty pastors and sixty congregations supported the contention of the board of trustees, and when the United Norwegian Church withdrew its support, these banded together and from 1893 to 1897 were known by the name of Friends of Augsburg. In the year 1897 they adopted the name of Lutheran Free Church. "The Free Church differs from other Norwegian Lutheran synods in this respect: it has no constitution, and its annual meeting is not a representative body of delegates elected by the congregations, but a free gathering in which anyone who agrees to the Free Church principles can take part".²⁾

The United Norwegian Church after this merger extended over the northern States from Maine down to Pennsylvania, to Illinois and California. In the year 1916 it numbered 674 pastors, 1,630 congregations, and 171,657 communicants. It built many seminaries, colleges and schools, and maintained a number of charitable institutions. Its official organs were "Lutheraneren"

¹⁾ Evjen, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 250.

²⁾ Neve, *Brief History*, p. 402.

and "The United Lutheran". The English language was extensively used in its institutions and congregations.

Doctrinally the United Norwegian Church is based on the three ecumenical creeds, the Augsburg Confession, and Luther's Small Catechism. It has not been engaged in any controversy, outside of that with the professors of the Augsburg Seminary, Sverdrup and Oftedal. It did not declare itself on the doctrines of election and conversion, permitting Prof. Schmidt to teach his particular views regarding them. In general it may be said that the United Norwegian Church presented a similar attitude as the General Council on doctrinal subjects, since there were divergent elements in its midst when it was organized. Prof. Schmidt takes the following position on predestination: "If it be said, with a view of excluding synergism, that all converting and saving efficacy is exclusively on the side of God and His grace, and none whatever on the side of fallen man, we answer: Most assuredly this is a plain gospel truth; but when the saving means of grace, and the saving power of the Spirit exercised through those means, are present and operating by the will of God, and are thus paving the way for a sinner's conversion and salvation, then, nevertheless, grace as a saving cause permits every man to retain an option between obeying the call and yielding to the saving influences of God's Spirit on the one hand, and between refusing to do so on the other hand. Every called sinner—ordinarily, at least—retains his free accountability in this respect. All the merit is Christ's alone, all the efficacy is the Spirit's alone, but the divinely appointed order of salvation in the case of no man annuls his free accountability or his option between two alternatives, two different courses of action under the efficacious gospel call. To say, however, that man has no alternative under the gracious and efficacious gospel call, no freedom of choice, no option, no free accountability, is in fact saying that any really saving grace must be absolutely efficacious, leaving no possibility whatever to the sinner of taking a contrary course of action to that which the divine grace enables and urges him to take". "According to the gospel of Christ, conversion and faith are indeed the work of the Holy Ghost, but in such a manner that the free accountability of man is not neutralized or abolished. The called sinner, when enabled to yield to the Spirit through the influences of preparing grace, is still free to do one of two things, either to thus yield or to resist. In this respect he has a free option between two alternatives".¹⁾

One other small body may receive mention here, namely, The Church of the Lutheran Brethren, which was organized in the year 1890. It represents a Donatistic tendency in that it maintains that Christian congregations are composed of true Christians only. Pastor K. O. Lundeberg was president of this body for a number of years until he recognized the error and returned to the United Norwegian Lutheran Church. Pastor E. M. Broen of the Free

¹⁾ Distinctive Doctrines and Usages, p. 230 and 231.

Church took his place. These were repelled by the alleged worldliness of the churches and drifted to this extreme.

Beginning with the year 1900 a new effort was made at a union of all Norwegian bodies. The United Norwegian Synod made the first move in this direction by appointing a Union Committee. The Norwegian Synod responded by recommending that the presidents and theological faculties of the Norwegian, Hauge, and United Norwegian Synods discuss the doctrinal differences and try to reach some agreement. The first colloquium was held in the year 1901. Illness of one of the presidents prevented the holding of the second meeting. In the year 1903 the Norwegian Synod asked the United Norwegian Synod to appoint another in the place of Prof. Schmidt, for obvious reasons. This created a deadlock for the next two years. But in the year 1906 the three union committees met and reached an agreement on the subject of absolution. In the fall of the same year at another meeting the subject of lay preaching was settled. In two meetings in the following year a lengthy statement was adopted on the call and conversion. The doctrine of election occupied the next three years, but brought no agreement. The Norwegian Synod finally withdrew. The Hauge and the United Norwegian Synods, however, continued the discussions on this doctrine and reached the point where they in a joint statement declared that the differences which kept them apart had been removed. In the year 1911 both the Norwegian and the United Norwegian Synods discharged their old union committees and appointed new ones. These new committees at Madison, Wisconsin, in the year 1912 adopted resolutions called "Opgjør" and "Forslag" pertaining to the doctrine of election. These are the so-called Madison Theses. A union on the basis of the "Opgjør" was then effected in the year 1916, despite the protest of a strong minority in the Norwegian Synod. The Synodical Conference in the year 1912 expressed its dissent from points in the "Opgjør", and strongly urged that these objectionable features be removed. Eventually, when these three bodies were dissolved and the amalgamation occurred, a part of the minority of the Norwegian Synod joined the union movement.

The remnant of this minority which declined to join the United Norwegian Synod held a meeting in June, 1918, at Lake Mills, Iowa, which was attended by thirteen pastors and a larger number of members of congregations located in the Northwest. These organized with Pastor B. Harstad as president. They adopted the following resolutions: "We, the members of the Synod for the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, pastors, delegates of congregations and members of congregations, unite for the purpose of carrying on the work of the Synod on the old basis and in accord with its original principles. 1. The name of this body shall be 'The Synod for the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America.' 2. The only source and norm of faith and doctrine is the Word of God as revealed in the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. 3. The Norwegian Synod

acknowledges all the Confessions of the Lutheran Church as contained in the Concordia. 4. We elect a committee of three to revise the old constitution of the Norwegian Synod. The report of the committee should be printed as soon as possible and submitted to the congregations for their consideration. The report shall be the subject of final discussion at the next meeting of the Synod to be held next year".¹⁾

This closes the history of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, leaving three Norwegian church bodies in existence outside of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church, namely, the Eielson Synod, the Norwegian Synod, and the Free Church.

Danish Lutherans.

Before treating briefly of the Danish Lutheran Church in America we must add here a remark or two regarding the three tendencies that prevail in church circles in Denmark. The High Church party represents the Danish National Church. The Low Church party is a lay element, similar to the Hauge movement in Norway, with the additional feature that it stands in opposition to the sects. The Broad Church party is the Grundtvigian current which places tradition and the Apostles' Creed above the Scripture.

Danish immigration began between the years 1840 and 1850, growing especially strong after the separation of Church and State in Denmark. Thousands of Danes were led in delusion to the State of Utah by the Mormons. Missionary work was not begun in America until the Baptists, Methodists, Adventists, and other sects had reaped a rich harvest. The first one to take an active interest in the spiritual welfare of his countrymen was Claus Lauriz Clausen who spent so many years among the Norwegians in America. He appealed to Denmark to send over Danish Lutheran missionaries. In response "a committee for the furthering of the preaching of the Gospel among the Danes in America" was organized in Denmark in the year 1869. This was a voluntary enterprise, but its members were Grundtvigians and the men which they sent were of like character. Clausen at that time belonged to the Conference for the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church and it was hoped that these Danish missionaries would join the Conference. The hope was rudely shattered. The missionaries reported back to Denmark that the Conference was far too orthodox! So they organized The Missionary Association of the Church (Kirkelig Missionsforening) in the year 1872 to suit their Grundtvigian views. Six years later these adopted a constitution and changed the name to Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. But not all the members of this Association belonged to the Grundtvigian tendency and

¹⁾ Lutheraner, July 30, 1918, p. 260.

they refused to subscribe to the constitution. And after a long controversy these finally withdrew and organized the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America in the year 1894.

In the year 1884 the Danes in the Norwegian-Danish Conference withdrew and organized another body called the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church Association of America. These two last named bodies came to an agreement in the year 1896 and brought about the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. This is the largest Danish body in America, maintaining a number of seminaries, colleges, high schools, and a publishing house at Blair, Nebraska. Confessionally this body stands thus: "We adhere unflinchingly to the Holy Scripture as the Word of God, the supreme judge of doctrine and life, faith and practice, the means of our salvation and the only sure guide for the people of God in the world". „We adhere to the confessional books of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of Denmark, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan and Athanasian Creeds, the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of 1530, and Luther's Small Catechism, as the living voice of the true Church of God" "While we are opposed to secret oathbound societies, we have no clause in our constitution prohibiting members of such societies from becoming members of our Church. It is not necessary, for we have but few applications from those quarters, and we do not consider them worse sinners than other sinners". "We do not exchange pulpits with preachers of other churches, but we willingly take every opportunity to preach the truth as it is in Christ, where such is offered us".¹⁾

Two other small synods may be mentioned in this connection, namely, the Icelandic Lutheran Synod and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Synod in America. The former was organized in the year 1885 and is chiefly located in northwest Canada, also in Minnesota and North Dakota. Its pastors mostly received their education in the General Council seminary at Chicago and for that reason it also "shares the theological views of the General Council, having no tendency towards modern liberalism". The Finnish or Suomi Synod is located in Michigan, organized at Calumet, Michigan, in the year 1890. "Confessionally this synod is akin to the Swedish Augustana Synod and the General Council."²⁾

CONCLUSION.

In closing we would observe that the missionary work of the Lutheran Church in America, which extends throughout the world, has barely been touched upon, if at all. Neither have we been able to remark much of the great educational and publishing work of the Lutheran Church, except

¹⁾ Vig, *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*, p. 270—273.

²⁾ Neve, *Brief History*, p. 421—422.

in passing. All these subjects would require extended chapters to display the full magnitude of this Lutheran work. We have been chiefly concerned with the historical development of the American Lutheran Church from a confessional viewpoint, and, unquestionably, the writing of the history of Lutheranism in this country means first and last a history of the confessionalism of our Church. To attempt to portray her history from any other viewpoint would be losing sight of the chief characteristic of the Lutheran Church. Not that we would slight in any way the great practical efforts of our Church. But we maintain that from the main artery of the Lutheran Church, namely, her confessions, flow all the great works of the Church. "Faith without works is dead". Faith is the one and only actuating force of all the endeavors of the Church. Hence one can not do justice to the great scope and influence, the true condition and life of the Lutheran Church in our country unless one views her history from a confessional standpoint.

From this source also must flow all efforts at union. All efforts at uniting Lutheranism must center in the confessional positions of the several synods. No mere cooperation in practical church work will bring about the much coveted union of Lutheranism. Of what avail are all union and cooperation in this respect if the fundamental principles actuating such church work are not fully, completely, and unreservedly acknowledged by all concerned, not only in theory, on paper, but actually and in fact?



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